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Adverbs and Phrase Structure in Iquito

by

Cynthia Irene Anderson Hansen, AB

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Adverbs and Phrase Structure in Iquito

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Supervising Committee:**

Nora C. England

Lisa J. Green

Dedication

To the Thesis Fairy, wherever you are

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May 5, 2006

Abstract

Adverbs and Phrase Structure in Iquito

Cynthia Irene Anderson Hansen, MA

The University of Texas at Austin, 2006

Supervisor: Nora C. England

This thesis explores adverb distribution in Iquito, a Zaparoan language spoken by approximately 25 people in the northern Amazon Basin of Peru. The syntactic distributions of Iquito adverbs correspond to four semantic classes: time, manner, epistemic, and an intensifier. Time adverbs have the broadest distribution, occurring before the topic of a topicalized sentence, between topic and subject, after the verb, and after the object of a transitive sentence. Manner adverbs have a similar distribution, but are not found before topic. Epistemic adverbs have an even narrower distribution, never occurring sentence-initially (whether the sentence is topicalized or not) and rarely occurring between topic and subject. The intensifier adverb has the most restricted distribution, as it only occurs before adjectives or other adverbs. These distributions can be used to classify ‘atypical’ adverbs, namely infinitival verbs that are used adverbially. Furthermore, these distributions shed light on the phrase structure of Iquito.

Adverbs are analyzed in the literature as adjuncts, and the allowable positions are explained either as the result of adjunction to different constituents (Ernst 2002; Iatridou 1990) or movement between adjoined positions (Cinque 1999). The pre-verbal positions of Iquito adverbs, particularly in irrealis and negated constructions, raise questions for these analyses. The data demonstrate that adverbs can occupy non-adjoined positions, namely the object position in an irrealis (SOV) construction and possibly negation, forcing a reevaluation of the current treatment of adverbs. The research also expands the existing documentation on Iquito.

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Chapter 1: Introduction

In this paper, I examine adverbs in Iquito, a Zaparoan language spoken by approximately twenty-five people in the northern Amazon Basin of Peru. The purpose of this paper is twofold: to present a description of the syntactic and semantic distributions of Iquito adverbs and to demonstrate how these distributions contribute to an analysis of Iquito Phrase Structure. The study discussed here makes a significant contribution to the existing literature on Iquito. It also forces a re-evaluation of traditional adverb analyses, as the data presented here is not fully accounted for in the current syntactic literature on adverbs.

This chapter provides an overview of the Iquito language, including previous research on the language, the orthographic system, and the basis of the current study. I also introduce the Iquito adverb classes and comment briefly on their syntactic distributions. These distributions are presented in detail in Chapter Two. In Chapter Three, I discuss how these distributions of traditional adverbs can be used to classify two ‘atypical’ adverbs. I summarize the existing literature on adverbs, illustrate the problems posed by the Iquito data, and present my analysis and proposed syntactic structure in Chapter Four. Chapter Five concludes the study and discusses areas for future research.

1.1 LANGUAGE BACKGROUND

1.1.1 Speakers of Iquito

Iquito is an indigenous language of the Peruvian Amazon, and like many of the other languages spoken in this region, it is on the verge of becoming extinct. Once spoken in a wide area of the northwestern Peruvian Amazon, Iquito is now only spoken

in three communities: San Antonio del Pintuyacu, Atalaya, and Saboya, all in the Peruvian state of Loreto. The present study was conducted in San Antonio del Pintuyacu, a community of approximately 200 residents located on the banks of the Pintuyacu River, about 120 km west of the city of Iquitos. Only twenty-five of these residents are native speakers of Iquito; and of these twenty-five, all are over the age of fifty-five and bilingual with Spanish.¹

1.1.2 Language Family

Iquito is a member of the Zaparoan language family. Grimes (2000) lists seven languages in this family: Andoa, Arabela, Aushiri, Cahuarano, Iquito, Omurano, and Záparo. Arabela, Iquito, and Záparo are considered to be the three surviving (yet highly endangered) languages of the Zaparoan family (Beier 2004); the rest are extinct.

1.1.3 Previous Research on Iquito

Five volumes of research conducted by the Iquito Language Documentation Project (ILDP)² represent the largest contribution to the documentation of Iquito to date. These volumes are titled: *Estudios del Idioma Iquito* (2003); *Estudios del Idioma Iquito 2004, Tomos I-II* (2004); and *Estudios del Idioma Iquito 2005, Tomos I-II* (2005). This work includes over 1,300 pages of language description and analysis (divided into 94 grammar modules), a 76-page dictionary consisting of roughly 3,457 words, numerous texts, and six chapters of pedagogical materials.

¹ The variety of Spanish spoken in San Antonio is referred to locally as *Castellano*.

² The Iquito Language Documentation Project (ILDP) was founded in 2002 as a long-term, community-based, collaborative language revitalization project (Beier 2002). More information about the ILDP can be found on the project's website: <http://www.iquito.org>.

Other studies that exist are “Iquito Syntax” by Robert and Elizabeth Eastman (1963), *Topics in Iquito Syntax: Word Order, Possession, and Nominal Discontinuity* by Mark C. Brown (2004), *La Formación de Palabras Mediante la Derivación en Iquito* by Edinson Y. Huamancayo Curi (2005), and *El acento y tono en la Lengua Iquito* by Karina N. Sullón Acosta (2005). The Eastman’s “Iquito Syntax” is a tagmemic analysis of Iquito totaling 47 pages, Brown’s *Topics in Iquito Syntax* is a 175-page unpublished Master of Arts Thesis completed at the University of Texas at Austin, and Huamancayo Curi (2005) and Sullón Acosta (2005) are both *Licenciatura* theses completed at the Universidad Nacional Mayor de San Marcos in Lima, Peru.³

1.1.4 Orthographic System

Iquito examples are presented in the orthography used by the ILDP, which is essentially the same one used by Eastman and Eastman (1963). This orthography is based on Spanish, and the IPA equivalents are given in Table 1.1 below.

³ Additionally, Sisi Bautista Pizarro will complete a *Licenciatura* thesis in 2006, and Lynda DeJong Boudreault, Taryne Hallett, and I-wen Lai will complete MA theses in 2006.

Table 1.1 Iquito Orthography

Orthography	IPA	Comments
Consonants		
c	k	Used before <i>a</i> and <i>u</i>
hu	w	
j	h	
m	m	
n	n	
p	p	
qu	k	Used before <i>i</i> and +
r	r	
s	s, ʃ	Pronounced as [ʃ] before <i>i</i>
t	t	
Vowels		
a	a	
i	i	
+	ɪ	
u	u	
aa	a:	
ii	i:	
++	ɪ:	
uu	u	

1.2 THE CURRENT STUDY

The data for the current study come from fieldwork that I conducted in the summer of 2004 while living in the community of San Antonio and working as a member of the Iquito Language Documentation Project (ILDLP). During this time, I collected several hours of recorded elicitation sessions, produced over 500 pages of field notes, and wrote 75 pages of analysis that I presented to the project team while in San Antonio. The written analyses can be found in *Estudios del Idioma Iquito 2004, Tomos I-II* (2004). I also use data from the one text that I recorded, transcribed, and translated with Jaime Pacaya Inuma,⁴ along with texts collected by other team members in 2003, 2004, and 2005. When necessary, I have consulted the most recent version of the Iquito dictionary compiled by the project⁵ as well as analyses written by other team members, which I have cited accordingly.

In the examples presented here, I have provided English glosses based on my knowledge of Iquito as well as on the Spanish glosses provided by native speakers during elicitation sessions and text translation work. Each example also includes a code indicating the source of that example, either from an elicitation session or a text. These codes can be found at the end of the example and are in italics and parentheses. Codes beginning with ‘E’ indicate that the example comes from an elicitation session; the ‘E’ is followed by the initials of the consultant, the initials of the investigator, and then the date of the elicitation session in DDMMYY format. For instance, the code (*E.JPI.CIA.220704*) indicates that the example comes from an elicitation session between

⁴ This text has been archived on The Archive of the Indigenous Languages of Latin America (AILLA) and can be found at http://www.ailla.utexas.org/search/resource.html?r_id=811. A number of other Iquito texts can also be found on this archive (<http://www.ailla.utexas.org>).

⁵ All mentions of the Iquito dictionary refer to the 2005 version.

Jaime Pacaya Inuma (JPI) and myself (CIA) on July 22, 2004. Codes beginning with ‘T’ indicate that the example comes from a text, and the ‘T’ is followed by the text code, the initials of the consultant, the line of the text that the example comes from, and the date the text was recorded (in DDMMYY format). The code (*T.PNI.HDC.414.060704*) comes from a text labeled as PNI (P+-caqu+ja niyini) from consultant Hermenegildo Diaz Cuyasa (HDC), line 414, recorded on July 6, 2004.

1.3 IQUITO ADVERB CLASSES

The term adverb is often used as a “catch-all category” to capture words with semantic content that are neither nouns, verbs, nor adjectives (Payne 1997: 69). Givón (1984: 77) considers adverbs to be a rather mixed lexical class, stating that they “display relatively little cross-language comparability.” That said, adverbs are typically regarded as optional constituents, meaning that the occurrence of an adverb in a sentence is not obligatory for the sentence to be rendered grammatical. They modify verbs or “sentential” objects, such as CP, IP, or VP (Ernst 2002: 7). While adverbs can be single words or entire phrases, I use the term here to describe free morphemes.

Although Iquito adverbs do share some similarities in form (all of the adverbs listed in the Iquito dictionary end in one of three vowels: [i], [a], or [a:]), these similarities do not distinguish adverbs from other Iquito word classes. Furthermore, while it seems that some adverbs are morphologically derived from adjectives, there is no productive morpheme for forming adverbs from adjectives (like the *-ly* suffix in English). In fact, the set of adverbs with morphologically related adjectives is quite small. Brown (2003b) presents some of these adverbs as well as two morphological processes for deriving these adverbs from adjectives. One derivational process is to replace the final syllable with *-ta*. For example, the adverb *umaata* (meaning ‘a lot’)

is derived from the adjective *umaana* (meaning ‘big’), and the adverb *suhuaata* (meaning ‘well’) comes from the adjective *suhuaani* (meaning ‘good’ or ‘pretty’). The other process is to simply omit the last syllable. The adverb *s++sa* (meaning ‘poorly’ or ‘in an ugly manner’) is derived using this process from the adjective *s++sana* (meaning ‘bad’ or ‘ugly’). However, these processes are not productive and are only found with one adverb type, specifically manner adverbs. As a result, I conclude that there is no identifying feature that distinguishes adverbs from other word classes in Iquito. The one exception to this claim is adverbial phrases that are derived from verbs via the suffix *-jata*. More on this construction can be found in Section 3.1.2.

Iquito adverbs can be classified into four classes: manner, time, epistemic, and an intensifier. These adverb classes are defined based on the semantic and syntactic distributions of the respective adverbs within these classes. Directionals and locatives are not included in this study, since some expressions of direction and location in Iquito can be analyzed as adpositional phrases. See Michael (2005) for a discussion of Iquito directionals.

The following tables list some examples of Iquito adverbs and are organized by semantic class. (These lists are not exhaustive.) Manner adverbs (see Table 1.2) describe the way, or manner, in which an action is carried out. According to Payne (1997: 69), they make up the largest subcategory of adverbs in every language. Time adverbs (Table 1.3) express when an action is carried out, relative to the time of discourse. Another class of adverbs is the class of evidential and epistemic adverbs. Payne (1997: 70) describes these classes as follows: “evidential adverbs indicate the source of the information contained in the clause (e.g. hearsay, first-hand observation, second-hand observation, or pure conjecture). Epistemic adverbs indicate the degree to which the speaker is committed to the truth of the clause... e.g. *possibly, definitely, clearly*, etc.” Iquito does

not exhibit any evidential adverbs and has only one epistemic adverb, *cuuta*, meaning ‘maybe, perhaps’ (given in Table 1.4). The last class of adverbs, intensifiers, also has only one member, *juura*, meaning ‘very’. This adverb is presented in Table 1.5. Although intensifiers do not modify predicates, I include them in my description of adverbs since they modify something other than nouns, namely adjectives and other adverbs.

Table 1.2 Manner Adverbs

<i>iyarácata, iyacumata</i> ⁶	quickly, immediately
<i>macuaarica</i>	slowly, quietly
<i>amatana</i>	forcefully, with strength
<i>suhuaata</i>	well
<i>s++sa</i>	poorly, in an ugly manner
<i>umaata</i>	a lot
<i>s+sarica</i>	a little

⁶ HDC is the only consultant that uses *iyacumata*.

Table 1.3 Time Adverbs

amicaaca	one day away (yesterday, tomorrow)
áacari	now
táariqui	early
atiiyaajaa/tiiyaa	still

Table 1.4 Epistemic Adverbs

cuuta	maybe, perhaps
-------	----------------

Table 1.5 Intensifier⁷

juura	very, really
-------	--------------

The four semantic classifications given above in Tables 1.2 through 1.5 correspond to four different syntactic distribution patterns. Time adverbs have the broadest distribution in Iquito, followed by manner adverbs, epistemic adverbs, and then the intensifier *juura*. I present these distributions in Chapter Two. In Chapter Three, I show that these distributions can be used to classify two ‘atypical’ adverbs, namely infinitival verbs that are used adverbially.

⁷ In addition to functioning as an intensifier, *juura* can also be used as an interjection (meaning ‘in truth’ or ‘really’) and does not behave like an adverb in this context. I present evidence to support this claim in section 2.4.

1.4 A NOTE ABOUT QUITO WORD ORDER

Word order in Quito is quite fixed; arguments are identified by their position within the clause and not by morphology. Still, there are three aspects of Quito word order worth noting here: the realis/irrealis mood distinction, topicalization, and split determiner phrases. These constituent orders will be particularly relevant to the data and analysis presented in the chapters that follow.

1.4.1 Word order and realis/irrealis mood

Although Quito word order is quite fixed, two basic word orders are possible, as realis and irrealis mood are expressed via an alternation in constituent order. These two orders are SVO and what has been termed S X O by Anderson *et al.* (2006). SVO order and S X O order correspond to realis and irrealis mood, respectively.

The distinction between realis and irrealis mood is characterized by Mithun (1999: 173) as follows: “The realis portrays situations as actualized, as having occurred or actually occurring, knowable through direct perception. The irrealis portrays situations as purely within the realm of thought, knowable only through imagination.” Palmer (2001: 2) adds that there is considerable cross-linguistic variation in the categories that are treated as realis and irrealis. In Quito, irrealis mood is common in clauses describing hypothetical or speculative situations; it is also a means for expressing future, and it is obligatory in Quito counterfactual clauses and non-finite complement clauses. The remaining categories are treated as realis.

Quito realis clauses exhibit SVO word order, as shown in the following example:

1. S V O ADVERB
 Icuani asaa páapaja macuaarica.
 Icuani asa- : -Ø páapaja macuaarica
 Man eat-INC-NPS fish slowly
 A man is eating fish slowly. (*E.LII.CIA.260704*)

In contrast, irrealis clauses exhibit what Anderson *et al.* (2006) term S X V order, where X represents a number of different elements that can intervene between the subject and the verb. These elements include: an indefinite object, the determiner of a definite object, an adverb, negation (when the object is interrogated), and a post-positional phrase (when the verb is intransitive). Anderson *et al.* (2006) argue that the elements that can occur in this X position are post-verbal elements that move to the position immediately preceding the verb in order to overtly realize the irrealis mood morpheme. The authors further claim that there is a one-to-one correspondence between word order and mood in Iquito: for every irrealis clause, there is a corresponding realis clause in which X is found immediately to the right of the verb. This correspondence is summarized below in Figure 1.1.

Figure 1.1 Correspondence between word order and mood in Iquito

<i>Irrealis</i>	:	<i>Realis</i>
S X V	:	S V X

The most common realization of irrealis word order is SOV, which can be seen below in example 2:

2. S O V ADVERB
- Icuani páapaja asar++ macuaarica.
- Icuani páapaja asa-r++-Ø macuaarica
- Man fish eat-ICP-NPS slowly
- A man will eat fish slowly. (*E.HDC.CIA.270704*)

Further discussion of word order in realis and irrealis constructions can be found in Section 4.1.

1.4.2 Topicalization

In addition to this realis/irrealis alternation, Iquito employs another strategy that affects constituent word order: topicalization. Topicalization is common in Iquito constructions and is used to add emphasis to a discourse participant by bringing that participant to the foreground of the discourse (Brown 2004: 18). The element that is topicalized (either the subject or object) occurs at the beginning of the sentence, and a resumptive pronoun (*nu-* or *nuu*) is left behind (see examples 3, 4 and 5). I consider Topic to be a syntactic position in Iquito that is located above the position of Subject. I discuss these syntactic positions in more detail in Chapter Four.

Both subjects and objects can be topicalized. The subject is topicalized in example 3:

3. TOPIC S V IO DO
Iip+ m+rajaarica na-mit++cura Marii iimi simiim+.
Iip+ m+rajaarica na -mit++- Ø -cura Marii iimi simiim+
DET children 3pl-give -PRF-PSR Maria DET book
Those children, they have given those books to Maria. (*E.HDC.TMH.090704*)

The direct object is topicalized in example 4:

4. TOPIC S V IO DO
Iimi simiim+ iip+ m+rajaarica mit++cura Marii nuu.
Iimi simiim+ iip+ m+rajaarica mit+- Ø -cura Marii nuu
DET book DET children give -PRF-PSR Maria 3s
Those children have given those books to Maria. (*E.HDC.TMH.090704*)

And the indirect object is topicalized in example 5.

5. TOPIC S V DO IO
- Marii iip+ m+rajaarica mit++cura iimi simiim+ nuu.
- Marii iip+ m+rajaarica mit++- Ø -cura iimi simiim+ nuu
- Maria DET children give -PRF-PSR DET book 3s
- Those children have given those books to Maria. (*E.HDC.TMH.090704*)

More on topicalization can be found in Brown (2003a), Hallett (2004), and Michael (2004b).

1.4.3 Split determiner phrases

Another aspect of Iquito word order relevant to the current study is the occurrence of split determiner phrases. A split determiner phrase (also called a discontinuous determiner phrase) is a DP where the determiner is separated from its complement noun phrase by another constituent within the sentence. Michael (2004a) identifies two types of split determiner phrases. Type I split determiner phrases can be found in three contexts: as subjects of intransitive verbs and finite transitive verbs, as arguments in adpositional phrases, and as the possessor in possessive phrases. Type II split determiner phrases occur in irrealis constructions and with subordinate infinitival verbs. This type of split determiner phrase is relevant to the current study and is discussed briefly in Sections 3.1 and 4.1. In irrealis constructions, the Type II split determiner phrase will be either the direct object or the indirect object, and the determiner will be separated from its complement noun by the inflected verb. Similarly, the object in a subordinate clause with an infinitival verb can be a Type II split determiner phrase. In this case, the determiner will be separated from its complement noun by the infinitival verb. See Michael (2004a) and Brown (2004) for more information on split determiner constructions.

1.5 SUMMARY

This chapter provides background information on the Iquito language, including a brief summary of the language's history, its current state, the previous research on Iquito, and the orthographic system. It also explains the data on which the current study is based and introduces the Iquito adverb classes. It concludes by discussing a few aspects of Iquito word order that are particularly relevant to this study, namely the realis/irrealis distinction, topicalization, and split determiner phrases.

In the next chapter, I present the syntactic distribution of Iquito adverbs in realis and irrealis constructions and show that these distributions correspond to the four semantic classes outlined in this chapter: time, manner, epistemic, and intensifier.

Chapter 2: The Syntactic Distribution of Iquito Adverbs

In this chapter, I illustrate the syntactic positions available to adverbs of each of the four semantic classes (time, manner, epistemic, and intensifier) within realis and irrealis constructions. Time adverbs can be found in Section 2.1, manner adverbs in Section 2.2, the epistemic adverb in Section 2.3, and the intensifier adverb in Section 2.4.

2.1 TIME

As stated in the previous chapter, time adverbs express when an action is carried out relative to the discourse time. One such adverb is *amicaaca*, the Iquito word for ‘one day away’, which encompasses the English senses of ‘yesterday’ and ‘tomorrow’. It is frequently used in the following examples to illustrate where time adverbs can occur within a clause. In Iquito, time adverbs have the broadest syntactic distribution. This section is divided into two parts. In Section 2.1.1, I show where time adverbs can occur within a realis construction. The distribution of time adverbs in irrealis constructions can be found in Section 2.1.2.

2.1.1 Time adverbs in realis constructions

The examples that follow show the distribution of time adverbs in topicalized and non-topicalized realis constructions.⁸ Allowed positions within a topicalized sentence are given in part (a) of examples (6) – (9). Allowed positions within a non-topicalized sentence are given alongside these examples (where applicable) in part (b). The adverb is underlined in each of these examples.

⁸ Realis constructions, topicalization, and their effect on word order are discussed in Section 1.4.

In realis constructions that are topicalized, time adverbs can occur before the topic (example 6), between the topic and the subject (example 7a), between the verb and the object (example 8a), or after the object (example 9a). In realis constructions that are not topicalized, time adverbs occur in the same positions, except the position before the topic is no longer present. Examples of non-topicalized sentences are given in (7b), (8b), and (9b) below.

Before the topic:

6. ADVERB TOPIC S V O
 Amicaaca iina icuani nu-asacura iina páapaaaja.
 amicaaca iina icuani nu-asa- Ø -cura iina páapaaaja
 one.day.away DET man 3s-eat-PRF-PSR DET fish
 That man, he ate the fish yesterday. (*E.JPI.CIA.220704*)

Between the topic and the subject of a topicalized sentence:

- 7a. TOPIC ADVERB S V O
 Iina icuani amicaaca nu-asacura iina páapaaaja.
 iina icuani amicaaca nu-asa- Ø -cura iina páapaaaja
 DET man one.day.away 3s-eat-PRF-PSR DET fish
 That man, he ate the fish yesterday. (*E.ELY.CIA.260704*)

Before the subject of a non-topicalized sentence:

7b. ADVERB S V O

Amicaaca icuani jimatacura nu-naana.

amicaaca icuani jimata- Ø -cura nu-naana

one.day.away man remove-PRF-PSR 3s-wood

Yesterday a man removed his wood. (*E.HDC.CIA.230704*)

Between the verb and the object of a topicalized sentence (8a) and a non-topicalized sentence (8b):

8a. TOPIC S V ADVERB O

Iina icuani nu-jicatacura amicaaca nu-naana.

iina icuani nu-jicata- Ø -cura amicaaca nu-naana

DET man 3s-remove-PRF-PSR one.day.away 3s-wood

That man, he removed his wood yesterday. (*E.JPI.CIA.220704*)

8b. S V ADVERB O

Icuani asacura amicaaca páapaja.

Icuani asa- Ø -cura amicaaca páapaja

Man eat-PRF-PSR one.day.away fish

A man ate fish yesterday. (*E.ELY.CIA.230704*)

9a. TOPIC S V O ADVERB
Iina icuani nu-jicatacura nu-naana amicaaca.
iina icuani nu-jicata- Ø -cura nu-naana amicaaca
DET man 3s-remove-PRF-PSR 3s-wood one.day.away
That man, he removed his wood yesterday. (*EJPI.CIA.220704*)

The only position that results in an ungrammatical sentence is when the adverb is placed between the subject and the verb of either a topicalized or a non-topicalized realis construction. This is shown in example 10 below:

19

10b. S *ADVERB V O
 *Icuani amicaaca asacura páapaja.
 Icuani amicaaca asa- Ø -cura páapaja
 Man one.day.away eat-PRF-PSR fish
 TARGET: A man ate fish yesterday. (E.ELY.CIA.230704)

2.1.2 Time adverbs in irrealis constructions

The distribution of time adverbs in irrealis constructions is similar but not identical to the distribution of time adverbs in realis ones. The major difference is that positioning an adverb between the subject and the verb of an irrealis sentence is grammatical, as shown in example 11. It does not matter if the sentence is topicalized (as in 11a) or not (as in 11b).

11a. TOPIC S ADVERB V O
 Iina icuani nu-amicaaca jicatar++ nu-naana.
 Iina icuani nu-amicaaca jicata-r++-Ø nu-naana
 DET man 3s-one.day.away remove-ICP-NPS 3s-wood
 That man, he will remove his wood tomorrow. (E.JPI.CIA.220704)

11b. S ADVERB V O
 Icuani amicaaca jicatar++ nu-naana.
 icuani amicaaca nu-naana jimata-r++-Ø
 man one.day.away 3s-wood remove-ICP-NPS
 A man will remove his wood tomorrow. (E.JPI.CIA.010804)

Recall that placing an adverb in this position was ungrammatical in realis constructions, as was shown in examples 10a and 10b above. I will return to this incongruity in Chapter Four.

The remaining grammatical positions are given below in examples 12 through 14. In irrealis constructions, a time adverb can occur before the topic of a topicalized sentence, between the topic and the subject, between the verb and the object, or after the object. These positions are also grammatical for realis constructions, as illustrated in the previous section.

Before the topic:

12. ADVERB TOPIC S O V
Amicaaca iina icuani nuu nu-naana jimatar++.
 Amicaaca iina icuani nuu nu-naana jimata-r++-Ø
 One.day.away DET man 3s 3s-wood remove -ICP-NPS
 Tomorrow that man, he will remove his wood. (*E.HDC.CIA.230704*)

Between the topic and the subject of a topicalized sentence:

- 13a. TOPIC ADVERB S O V
 Iina icuani amicaaca nuu nu-naana jimatar++.
 Iina icuani amicaaca nuu nu-naana jimata-r++-Ø
 DET man one.day.away 3s 3s-wood remove -ICP-NPS
 That man, tomorrow he will remove his wood. (*E.ELY.CIA.230704*)

Before the subject of a non-topicalized sentence:

- 13b. ADVERB S O V
Amicaaca icuani nu-naana jimatar++.
Amicaaca icuani nu-naana jimata-r++-Ø
One.day.away man 3s-wood remove-ICP-NPS
Tomorrow a man will remove his wood. (*E.ELY.CIA.210704*)

After the verb of a topicalized sentence (14a) and a non-topicalized sentence (14b):

- 14a. TOPIC S O V ADVERB
Iina icuani nuu nu-naana jimatar++ amicaaca.
Iina icuani nuu nu-naana jimata-r++-Ø amicaaca
DET man 3s 3s-wood remove-ICP-NPS one.day.away
That man, he will remove his wood tomorrow. (*E.ELY.CIA.210704*)

- 14b. S O V ADVERB
Iina icuani nu-naana it++r++ amicaaca.
iina icuani nu-naana it++ -r++-Ø amicaaca
DET man 3s-wood transport-ICP-NPS one.day.away
That man, he will transport his wood tomorrow. (*E.ELY.CIA.210704*)

Note that the irrealis order in examples 12 through 14 is SOV; the object occurs between the subject and the verb. However, it is ungrammatical for the adverb to co-occur with the object between the subject and the verb of an irrealis construction, as shown below in example 15:

15. TOPIC S *ADVERB O V
 *Iina icuani nu-amicaaca nu-naana jimatar++.
 Iina icuani nu-amicaaca nu-naana jimata-r++-Ø
 DET man 3s-one.day.away 3s-wood remove-ICP-NPS
 TARGET: That man, he will remove his wood tomorrow. (*E.ELY.CIA.260704*)

I return to the position of adverbs with respect to irrealis constructions in Section 4.1.

2.2 MANNER

Manner adverbs express how, or in what manner, an action is carried out. This section is divided into two parts. In Section 2.2.1, I show where manner adverbs can occur in a realis construction. The distribution of manner adverbs in irrealis constructions can be found in Section 2.2.2.

2.2.1 Manner adverbs in realis constructions

Manner adverbs in realis constructions have a similar distribution to time adverbs, but are not found before the topic, as seen in example 16.

16. *ADVERB TOPIC S V O
 *Macuaarica iina icuani nu-asacura iina páapaaja.
 Macuaarica iina icuani nu-asa- Ø -cura iina páapaaja
 slowly DET man 3s-eat-PRF-PSR DET fish
 TARGET: That man, he ate the fish slowly. (*E.ELY.CIA.210704*)

Just like with the time adverbs, it is grammatical to place a manner adverb between the topic and the subject (17a), before the subject of a non-topicalized sentence (17b), between the verb and the object (18), or after the object (19).

Between the topic and the subject of a topicalized sentence:

- 17a. TOPIC ADVERB S V O
 Iina icuani macuaarica nu-asacura iina páapaaja.
 Iina icuani macuaarica nu-asa- Ø -cura iina páapaaja
 DET man slowly 3s-eat-PRF-PSR DET fish
 That man, he ate the fish slowly. (*E.ELY.CIA.210704*)

Before the subject of a non-topicalized sentence:

- 17b. ADVERB S V O
 S++sa icuani camaracura nu-nasi.
 s++sa icuani camara- Ø -cura nu-nasi
 poorly man clear -PRF-PSR 3s-field
 The man has cleared his field poorly. (*E.ELY.CIA.210704*)

Between the verb and the object of a topicalized sentence (18a) and a non-topicalized sentence (18b):

- 18a. TOPIC S V ADVERB O
 Iina icuani nu-asacura macuaarica iina páapaaja.
 Iina icuani nu-asa- Ø -cura macuaarica iina páapaaja
 DET man 3s-eat-PRF-PSR slowly DET fish
 That man, he ate the fish slowly. (*E.ELY.CIA.210704*)

18b. S V ADVERB O
 M+saji siquिता iyacumata sinaaqu+.
 M+saji siquिता- : -Ø iyacumata sinaaqu+
 woman wash -INC-NPS quickly clothes
 A woman is washing clothes quickly. (*E.HDC.CIA.230704*)

And after the object of a topicalized sentence (19a) and a non-topicalized sentence (19b):

19a. TOPIC S V O ADVERB
 Iina icuani nu-asacura iina páapaja macuaarica.
 Iina icuani nu-asa- Ø -cura iina páapaja macuaarica
 DET man 3s-eat-PRF-PSR DET fish slowly
 That man, he ate the fish slowly. (*E.ELY.CIA.210704*)

19b. S V O ADVERB
Icuani asaa páapaja macuaarica.
 Icuani asa- : -Ø páapaja macuaarica
 Man eat-INC-NPS fish slowly
 A man is eating fish slowly. (*E.LII.CIA.260704*)

Like a time adverb, a manner adverb cannot occur between the subject and the verb of a realis construction, whether that construction is topicalized or not:

20a. TOPIC S *ADVERB V O
 *Iina icuani nu-macuaarica asacura iina páapaaja.
 Iina icuani nu-macuaarica asa- Ø -cura iina páapaaja
 DET man 3s-slowly eat-PRF-PSR DET fish
 TARGET: That man, he slowly ate the fish. (*E.ELY.CIA.210704*)

20b. S *ADVERB V O
 *Icuani macuaarica asaqui iina páapaaja.
 icuani macuaarica asa-qui-Ø iina páapaaja
 man slowly eat-PRF-NPS DET fish
 TARGET: A man ate the fish slowly. (*E.ELY.CIA.230704*)

2.2.2 Manner adverbs in irrealis constructions

As we saw with the time adverbs, a manner adverb can occur between the subject and the verb of an irrealis construction (see example 18), whereas this position in realis constructions resulted in an ungrammatical construction (as shown in example 17 above).

21a. TOPIC S ADVERB V O
 Iina icuani nu-iyarácata jimatar++ nu-naana.
 Iina icuani nu-iyarácata jimata-r++-Ø nu-naana
 DET man 3s-quickly remove-ICP-NPS 3s-wood
 That man, he will remove his wood quickly. (*E.ELY.CIA.260704*)

- 21b. S ADVERB V O
 Icuani macuaarica asar++ iina páapaja.
 Icuani macuaarica asa-r++-Ø iina páapaja
 Man slowly eat-ICP-NPS DET fish
 A man will eat that fish slowly. (*E.ELY.CIA.230704*)

When the object occurs between the subject and the verb, as is allowed in irrealis constructions, a manner adverb cannot co-occur with the object in this position, as shown in examples 22 and 23.

22. TOPIC S *ADVERB O V
 *Iina icuani nu-iyarácata nu-naana jimatar++.
 Iina icuani nu-iyarácata nu-naana jimata-r++-Ø
 DET man 3s-rapidly 3s-wood remove-ICP-NPS
 TARGET: That man, he will remove his wood rapidly. (*E.ELY.CIA.260704*)

23. TOPIC S O *ADVERB V
 *Iina icuani nuu nu-naana iyarácata jimatar++.
 Iina icuani nuu nu-naana iyarácata jimata-r++-Ø
 DET man 3s 3s-wood rapidly remove-ICP-NPS
 TARGET: That man, he will remove his wood rapidly. (*E.ELY.CIA.260704*)

Also, as we saw with manner adverbs in realis constructions, a manner adverb cannot occur before the topic of an irrealis topicalized sentence:

24. ADVERB TOPIC S O V O (cont'd)⁹
 *Macuaarica iina icuani nu-iina asar++ páapaja.
 Macuaarica iina icuani nu-iina asa-r++-Ø páapaja
 Slowly DET man 3s-DET eat-ICP-NPS fish
 TARGET: That man, he will eat the fish, slowly. (*E.ELY.CIA.230704*)

All the remaining positions are grammatical. For instance, a manner adverb can occur between the topic and the subject of a topicalized sentence:

- 25a. TOPIC ADVERB S O V O (cont'd)
 Iina icuani macuaarica nu-iina asar++ páapaja.
 Iina icuani macuaarica nu-iina asa-r++-Ø páapaja
 DET man slowly 3s-DET eat-ICP-NPS fish
 That man, he will eat this fish slowly. (*E.ELY.CIA.230704*) (*E.JPI.CIA.220704*)

Before the subject of a non-topicalized sentence:

- 25b. ADVERB S O V
Macuaarica icuani páapaja asar++.
 Macuaarica icuani páapaja asa-r++-Ø
 slowly man fish eat-ICP-NPS
 A man will eat a fish slowly. (*E.HDC.CIA.270704*)

⁹ Discontinuous determiner phrases are allowed in Iquito. In such phrases, the determiner is separated from its complement noun, usually by a verb.

And after the object of both a topicalized sentence (26a) and a non-topicalized sentence (26b):

26a. TOPIC S O V O (cont'd) ADVERB
 Iina icuani nu-iina asar++ páapaaaja macuaarica.
 Iina icuani nu-iina asa-r++-Ø páapaaaja macuaarica
 DET man 3s-DET eat-ICP-NPS fish slowly
 That man, he will eat this fish slowly. (E.ELY.CIA.230704)

26b. S O V O (cont'd) ADVERB
 Icuani iina asar++ páapaaaja macuaarica.
 Icuani iina asa-r++-Ø páapaaaja macuaarica
 Man DET eat-ICP-NPS fish slowly
 The man will eat this fish slowly. (E.ELY.CIA.230704)

2.3 EPISTEMIC

Cuuta, meaning ‘maybe, perhaps’, is the only example I have found of an epistemic adverb. It functions as a validational adverb, a type of epistemic adverb that expresses speaker commitment. It has a much narrower distribution than either time or manner adverbs. For instance, it never occurs sentence-initially, whether the sentence is topicalized or not. Examples 27 and 28 (both of which are realis constructions) illustrate that beginning a sentence with *cuuta* results in an ungrammatical utterance. Example 27 shows that it is ungrammatical for *cuuta* to occur before the topic:

27. *ADVERB TOPIC S V O
 *Cuuta iina icuani nu-jimatacura nu-naana.
 Cuuta iina icuani nu-jimata- Ø -cura nu-naana
 maybe DET man 3s-remove-PRF-PSR 3s-wood
 TARGET: Maybe that man will remove his wood. (*E.ELY.CIA.040804*)

And example 28 shows that it is ungrammatical for *cuuta* to occur before the subject of an untropicalized sentence:

28. *ADVERB S V O
 *Cuuta cu-asaa páapaja.
 Cuuta qui-asa- : -Ø páapaja
 Maybe 1s -eat-INC-NPS fish
 TARGET: Maybe I am eating fish. (*E.JPI.CIA.200704*)

The same is true when the construction is irrealis, as illustrated by examples 29 and 30. In example 29, it is ungrammatical for *cuuta* to occur before the topic:

29. *ADVERB TOPIC S O V O (cont'd)
 *Cuuta iina maaya nu-iina niquir++ aana.
 Cuuta iina maaya nu-iina niqui-r++-Ø aana
 Maybe DET child 3s-DET see -ICP-NPS river.dolphin
 TARGET: Maybe that child will see the river dolphin. (*E.JPI.CIA.300704*)

And in example 30, it is ungrammatical for *cuuta* to occur before the subject of an untropicalized sentence:

30. *ADVERB S O V
 *Cuuta maaya aana niquir++.
 Cuuta maaya aana niqui-r++-Ø
 Maybe child river.dolphin see -ICP-NPS
 TARGET: Maybe a child will see a river dolphin. (*E.JPI.CIA.300704*)

When placed between the topic and the subject, *cuuta* is grammatical for some speakers (JPI), but not others (ELY); see example 31 below. This variation in speaker judgments could be the result of pragmatic interference, meaning that there is some pragmatic restriction that prevents the co-occurrence of topicalization and an epistemic adverb. Future research is necessary to be more conclusive on any possible pragmatic restrictions.

31. TOPIC ?ADVERB S V O
 Iina maaya cuuta nu-niquiqui aana.
 Iina maaya cuuta nu-niqui-qui-Ø aana
 DET boy maybe 3s-see -PRF-NPS river.dolphin
 That boy, maybe he saw a river dolphin. (**E.ELY.CIA.020804*)
 (*E.JPI.CIA.010804*)

But *cuuta* is grammatical between the verb and the object of a realis construction for all four speakers:

32. TOPIC S V ADVERB O
 Iina icuani nu-jimataa cuuta nu-naana.
 Iina icuani nu-jimata- : -Ø cuuta nu-naana
 DET man 3s-remove-INC-NPS maybe 3s-wood
 That man, he might remove his wood. (*E.HDC.CIA.270704*)
 (*E.JPI.CIA.010804*)

It is also grammatical for *cuuta* to occur word-finally for both realis and irrealis constructions:

33. S V O ADVERB
 Cu-asaa páapaaaja cuuta.
 qui-asa- : -Ø páapaaaja cuuta
 1s -eat-INC-NPS fish maybe
 Maybe I am eating fish. (*E.JPI.CIA.010804*)

34. TOPIC S O V ADVERB
 Iina icuani nuu nu-naana jimatar++ cuuta.
 Iina icuani nuu nu-naana jimata-r++-Ø cuuta
 DET man 3s 3s-wood remove-ICP-NPS maybe
 It could be that that man will remove his wood. (*E.ELY.CIA.300704*)

Just like time and manner adverbs, the epistemic adverb is ungrammatical between the subject and the verb of a realis construction:

35. S ADVERB V

*Qui-cuuta iicuaa Iquito-jina.

Qui-cuuta iicua- : -Ø Iquito-jina

1s -maybe go -INC-NPS Iquitos-LOC

TARGET: Maybe I am going to Iquitos. (*E.JPI.CIA.010804*)

But *cuuta* is grammatical between the subject and the verb of an irrealis construction:

36. TOPIC S ADVERB V O

Iina maaya nu-cuuta niquir++ iina aana.

Iina maaya nu-cuuta niqiu-r++-Ø iina aana

DET child 3s-maybe see -ICP-NPS DET river.dolphin

That child, he/she might see the river dolphin. (*E.ELY.CIA.300704*)

In fact, this last position is where most speakers prefer to use *cuuta* in irrealis constructions.

2.4 INTENSIFIER

The intensifier adverb in Iquito is *juura* (meaning ‘really’ or ‘very’) and has the most restricted distribution. The fact that its distribution is so limited is not surprising, since *juura* does not modify predicates like the other adverb classes. Instead, *juura* modifies adjectives or other adverbs, and as a result, when it is used as an intensifier, it is only found immediately preceding these constituent types. In example 37, *juura* is modifying an adjective:

37. Juura umaana t++ iina iita.
 juura umaana t++ iina iita
 very big COP DET house
 This house is very big. (*E.ELY.CIA.210704*)

In example 38, *juura* is modifying an adverb.

38. Iina maaya nu-ariitaa juura suhuaata.
 Iina maaya nu-ariita- : -Ø juura suhuaata
 DET child 3s-row -INC-NPS very well
 This child rows very well. (*E.JPI.CIA.220704*) (*E.HDC.CIA.230704*)
 (*E.ELY.CIA.230704*)

Brown (2003b) analyzes *juura* as capable of modifying predicates and classifies it as an epistemic adverb meaning ‘really’. In his analysis, *juura* is found sentence-initially or between the verb and the object of a realis construction; the placement of *juura* in all other positions is ungrammatical. I was able to elicit *juura* sentence-initially (see examples 39 to 42), and I found that in this position, it had a unique prosody, with strong emphasis on the first syllable (juura). This prosody is worth noting because other adverbs do not have this type of emphasis. When used with this prosody, *juura* is strongly preferred at the beginning of a sentence, which is also unlike the other adverbs since all of the other classes can occur post-verbally. In fact, most speakers (with HDC as the one exception) judged sentences to be ungrammatical if juura (with special prosody) occurred somewhere other than sentence-initially. Based

on these findings, I argue that when *juura* does not immediately precede an adjective or adverb, it functions as an interjection, with the meaning ‘in truth’ or ‘indeed’. Examples of *juura* functioning as an interjection can be seen below in examples 39 to 42.

39. *Juura nu-mayaasir++.*

Juura nu-mayaasi-r++-Ø

In.truth 3s-dance -ICP-NPS

It’s true that he/she will dance. (E.ELY.CIA.210704)

40. *Juura nu-mayaasicura.*

Juura nu-mayaasi- Ø -cura

In.truth 3s-dance -PRF-PSR

It’s true that he/she has danced. (E.ELY.CIA.210704)

41. *Juura p+-niquicura aana.*

Juura p+ -niqui- Ø -cura aana

In.truth 1pi-see -PRF-PSR river.dolphin

It’s true that we have seen a river dolphin. (E.LII.CIA.200704)

42. *Juura iina icuani nuu nu-naana jicatar++.*

Juura iina icuani nuu nu-naana jicata-r++-Ø

In.truth DET man 3s 3s-wood remove-ICP-NPS

It’s true that this man will remove his wood. (E.JPI.CIA.300704)

2.5 THE SYNTACTIC DISTRIBUTION OF ADVERBS: A SUMMARY

There are five possible positions where adverbs can occur in an Iquito construction: before the topic of a topicalized sentence (presented in Figure 2.1 as (a)), between the topic and subject of a topicalized sentence or before the subject of a non-topicalized sentence (b), between the subject and the verb (c), between the object and the verb (d), or after the object (e).

Figure 2.1 Possible positions for Iquito adverbs in realis constructions

<u>a</u>	(TOPIC)	<u>b</u>	SUBJECT	<u>c</u>	VERB	<u>d</u>	OBJECT	<u>e</u>
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Realis constructions follow the word order given in Figure 2.1. None of the adverbs can occur in position **c** of a realis construction. However, in irrealis constructions, position **c** must be filled.¹⁰ When position **c** is filled by the object, positions **d** and **e** conflate into the same position (see Figure 2.2). When position **c** is filled by an adverb, the object follows the verb (as in Figure 2.1), but it is ungrammatical for an adverb to occur in position **d**.

¹⁰ Refer to Section 1.4 for the types of elements that can fill this position.

Figure 2.2 Possible positions for Iquito adverbs in irrealis constructions

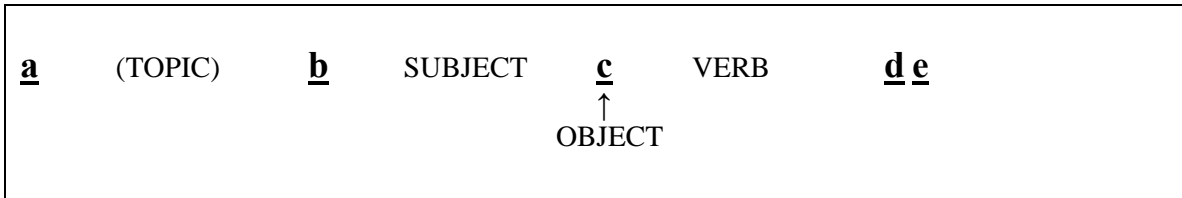


Table 2.1 presents a summary of the possible positions in which Iquito adverbs are found. Time adverbs have the broadest distribution. Manner adverbs occur in the same positions as time adverbs except that manner adverbs do not occur before the topic (position **a**). The epistemic adverb is even more restricted in its distribution, never occurring sentence-initially and questionably grammatical between the topic and subject of a topicalized sentence (position **b**). Finally, the intensifier adverb is most restricted in its distribution, only occurring before adjectives and other adverbs.

Table 2.1 Distribution of Iquito adverbs by position within the sentence

	<u>a</u> Before Topic	<u>b</u> Between Topic & Subj./Before Subject	<u>c</u> Between Subject & Verb	<u>d</u> Between Verb & Object	<u>e</u> After Object
Time	Grammatical	Gram.	Ungram. (realis) Gram. (irrealis)	Gram. (realis) Ungram. (irrealis)	Gram.
Manner	Ungrammatical	Gram.	Ungram. (realis) Gram. (irrealis)	Gram. (realis) Ungram. (irrealis)	Gram.
Epistemic	Ungrammatical	Ungram./ Questionable	Ungram. (realis) Gram. (irrealis)	Gram. (realis) Ungram. (irrealis)	Gram.
Intensifier	Grammatical only before adjectives and other adverbs				

In the next chapter, I show how the syntactic distributions of these adverb classes can be used to classify ‘atypical’ adverbs, namely infinitival verbs that function in an adverbial sense.

Chapter 3: Classifying ‘Atypical’ Adverbs

In this chapter, I look at the syntactic distribution of two infinitival verb forms: *im+raani* ‘to do again’ and *namiini* ‘to begin’. Although *im+raani* and *namiini* can function as verbs in Iquito, occurring in verbal positions and taking inflectional morphology, they are also used in their infinitival form in positions where infinitival verbs are not usually found, namely in the same positions as adverbs. When they occur in these adverbial positions, their sense is more adverbial than verbal. I argue that these infinitival verb forms are in the process of being re-lexicalized as adverbs. In Section 3.2, I will show that the distribution of *im+raani* (in its adverbial sense) matches that of the epistemic adverb *cuuta*, and in Section 3.3, I will show that the distribution of *namiini* (in its adverbial sense) matches that of temporal adverbs. Before presenting these distributions, I will summarize the characteristics of Iquito infinitival verbs and present the syntactic positions in which infinitival verbs are typically found (Section 3.1).

3.1 INFINITIVAL VERBS IN IQUITO

All Iquito infinitival verbs are morphologically marked with the suffix *-ni*. Words ending in *-ni* are most often verbs; of the 873 dictionary entries that end in *-ni*, 754 are verbs (approximately 86%).¹¹ The remaining 119 entries are almost exclusively nouns. Only six of the entries ending in *-ni* are neither nouns nor verbs (less than 1%, see Table 3.1). Four of these words are adjectives, one is an interjection, and only one is an adverb. Based on these numbers, I conclude that the morpheme *-ni* is a salient

¹¹ Most verbs are entered into the dictionary in their infinitival form; only a few are found in their root form. Thus, this figure is a fair representation of the number of verbs in the dictionary (out of 3,457 total entries).

marker of infinitival forms, and it is highly unusual for words that are neither nouns nor verbs to end in this morpheme.

Table 3.1 Dictionary entries ending in *-ni*, [-noun, -verb]

Iquito form	Part of speech	Meaning	Related verb
<i>irisini</i>	adjective	‘hard (<i>duro</i>)’	<i>irisinuuni</i> – to make hard
<i>namiini</i>	adverb	‘first’	<i>namiini</i> – to begin
<i>n+y++ni</i>	adjective	‘grey’	unknown
<i>p+y++ni</i>	adjective	‘all, every (<i>todo</i>)’	<i>p+y++ni</i> – to finish, complete
<i>suhuaani</i>	adjective	‘good’	unknown
<i>t++ni</i>	interjection	‘I don’t know’	unknown

Of the six entries that are neither noun nor verb, three have a corresponding verb entry that is semantically related and similar in form. For instance, the adjective *irisini*, meaning ‘hard’, has a closely corresponding verb form *irisinuuni*, meaning ‘to make hard’. Similarly, the adjective *p+y++ni*, meaning ‘all, every’ is identical in form to the verb *p+y++ni*, meaning ‘to finish, complete’. Although not semantically identical, there is a correspondence between these two meanings: something that is complete has all the necessary parts.¹² Finally, the only adverb in this set,

¹² This semantic correspondence also exists in the literature on aspect. Mithun (1999: 165), in her discussion of aspect, states that perfective aspect can “present an event as a complete whole”, whereas imperfectives often look at just a portion of the event; aspect may also distinguish between the beginning of a situation or the endpoint.

namiini, is identical in form and similar in meaning to the verb *namiini*, meaning ‘to begin’. (*Namiini* is discussed further in Section 3.3.)

No corresponding verb form is listed for the remaining three entries. The absence of such forms from the dictionary does not mean that a corresponding verb form does not exist, merely that such a form either has not been elicited or has fallen out of usage. Further research is necessary to be conclusive on this matter.

Based on these dictionary entries, I predict that non-verbal forms ending in *-ni* are derived from infinitival verbs. This prediction holds for some nouns, such as *arihuaani* and *cujuuni*,¹³ but not all; some nouns ending in *-ni* correspond to species of fish, insects, and birds and do not seem to have a corresponding verbal form. However, I believe this prediction is especially true for adverbs. Of the sixty-three adverb entries in the dictionary, only one ends in *-ni* (*namiini*), and for this one form, a corresponding verb entry is present. Another infinitival verb with an adverbial sense is *im+raani*, and although the adverbial form is not listed in the dictionary, its verbal form is. More information on these infinitivals is given in Sections 3.2 and 3.3, respectively.

Before turning to these adverbial distributions, I present the two most common environments in which Iquito infinitival verbs can be found: as verbal complements (see Section 3.1.1) or with the suffix *-jata* to indicate concomitant actions (Section 3.1.2).

¹³ The nominal form of *arihuaani* means ‘song’; the verbal form means ‘to sing’. The nominal form of *cujuuni* means ‘a punch, a blow’, whereas the verbal form means ‘to strike a blow, to punch’.

3.1.1 Infinitival verbs as verbal complements

Infinitival verbs occur most frequently as complements to other verbs. A list of verbs that take infinitival complements is given below in Table 3.2. (This list is not exhaustive.)

Table 3.2 Iquito verbs that take infinitival complements

Iquito verb	English gloss	Illustrative example
arihuataani	forget	See example 43
artin++ni	carry out, finish (<i>cumplir</i>)	See example 44
im+raani	to repeat	See example 45
j+y+siini	like, enjoy	See example 46
nacar++ni	want	See example 47
nacusiini	know	See example 48
nam+t++ni	begin	See example 49
p+yaani	finish, end (<i>terminar</i>)	See example 50
p+y++ni	complete ¹⁴ (<i>acabar</i>)	See example 51
paj++ni	able to, learn	See example 52
pajuuni	teach	See example 53
pariini	able to	See example 54
parijataani	help	See example 55

¹⁴ This verb is used with actions that are completed and cannot be reinitiated. It can only be used in very specific contexts.

Examples 43 through 55 illustrate each of the verbs presented in Table 3.2. The complements of these verbs are underlined. We see in these examples that the verbal complement includes an infinitival verb and that this infinitival verb follows the matrix verb and usually occurs word-finally. (Examples 50, 51, and 55 are the three exceptions to this generalization and can be explained by split determiner effects; see Section 1.4.3 for more information on split-determiners in Iquito.)

43. Cu-arihuataqui sinaaqu+ siquitaani.
 qui-arihuata-qui-Ø sinaaqu+ siquitaani
 1s -forget -PRF-NPS clothes wash -INF
 I forgot to wash the clothes. (*E.JPI.CIA.060804*) (*E.LII.CIA.060804*)

44. Cana-artinaa tarahuaajuuni.
 cana-artina- : -Ø tarahuaajuuni
 1pe -finish-INC-NPS trabajar-INF
 We (excl.) finished working (recently). (*E.LII.CIA.070804*)

45. Amicaaca qui-im++tar++ naraani.
 amicaaca qui-im++ta -r++-Ø naraani
 one.day.away 1s -do.again-ICP-NPS bathe-INF
 Tomorrow I will repeat the action of bathing/I will bathe again.
 (*E.ELY.CIA.020804*) (*E.LII.CIA.030804*)

46. Qui-j+y++sii nunani-cuura muusiini.
 qui-j+y++si- : -Ø nunani-cuura muusii-ni
 1s -enjoy -INC-NPS river -PDH swim -INF
 I enjoy swimming in the river. (E.ELY.CIA.020804)
47. Amicaaca qui-nacar++yaa qui-sinaaqu+ siquitaani.
 Amicaaca qui-nacar++-yaa-Ø qui-sinaaqu+ siquitaani-ni
 tomorrow 1s -want -INC-NPS 1s -clothes wash -INF
 Tomorrow I want to wash my clothes. (E.ELY.CIA.040804)
48. Anuuja nu-nacusii asúraaja saqu++ni.
 Anuuja nu-nacusi- : -Ø asúraaja saqu++-ni
 3s.prx 3s-know -INC-NPS yuca chew -INF
 She knows how to chew yuca. (E.LII.CIA.030804)
49. Iina m+saji nu-nam+t++cura nu-nasi cuaraani.
 iina m+saji nu-nam+t++-Ø -cura nu-nasi cuaraa -ni
 DET woman 3s-begin -PRF-PSR 3s-field cultivate-INF
 That woman, she has begun to cultivate her field. (E.LII.CIA.070804)
50. Iina maaya nu-p++car++ iina asaani asúraaja.
 Iina maaya nu-p++ca -r++-Ø iina asaa-ni asúraaja
 DET child 3s-finish-ICP-NPS DET eat -INF yuca
 That child, he/she has finished eating yuca. (E.LII.CIA.030804)

51. Jaa iina p+quii ijaani n+sicati.
 jaa iina p+qui - : -Ø ijaa-ni n+sicati
 ya DET complete-INC-NPS fall-INF *aguaje*
 That *aguaje* is now finishing falling. (*E.JPI.CIA.070804*) (*E.LII.CIA.070804*)
52. Iina maaya nu-paajii ariitaani.
 iina maaya nu-paaji- : -Ø ariitaa-ni
 DET child 3s-learn-INC-NPS row -INF
 This child, he/she is learning to row. (*E.ELY.CIA.020804*)
53. Iina niatija nu-paajuuyaa n+yiini icuumi.
 iina niatija nu-paajuu-yaa-Ø n+yini icuu-ni
 DET mother 3s-show -INC-NPS one's.child walk-INF
 This mother, she is showing her son how to walk. (*E.LII.CIA.030804*)
54. Nu-pariiyaa sinaaqu+ siquitaani.
 Nu-parii -yaa-Ø sinaaqu+ siquitaa-ni
 3s-able.to-INC-NPS clothes wash -INF
 S/he is able to wash clothes. (*E.LII.CIA.030804*)

55. Iina maaya nu-parijataa nani cuaraani
 iina maaya nu-parijata- : -Ø nani cuaraa -ni
 DET child 3s-help -INC-NPS mom cultivate-INF

iina nasi.

iina nasi
 DET field

This child, s/he is helping his/her mom to cultivate the field. (*E.LII.CIA.030804*)

Another verb that takes an infinitival complement is the verb *aparaani*, meaning ‘to begin’. This verb differs from the verbs presented above because its infinitival complement is marked with the suffix *-jina*, as shown in examples 56 to 59 below.

56. Jaa nu-aparacura asaani-jina.
 Jaa nu-apara-Ø -cura asaa-ni -jina
 already 3s-begin-PRF-PSR eat -INF-VCL
 He has already begun to eat. (*E.ELY.CIA.300704*)

57. Atiina nu-aparaquiaqu+ saminiijuuni-jina.
 atii-na nu-apara-quiaqu+ saminiijuu-ni -jina
 then-UAN 3s-begin-PDP think -INF-VCL
 Then s/he began to think. (*T.PNI.HDC.414.060704*)

58. Naraquiica aparacurana samuucuaati
na-araquiica apara- Ø -cura-na samuucuaati
3pl-nephew begin-PRF-PSR -UAN plantain

qu+raani-jina.
qu+raa-ni -jina
peel -INF-VCL
Their nephew began to peel the plantain(s). (*T.ANI.HDC.176.030702*)

59. Nu-aparaquiaqu+-na nu-namasicarata iicuuni-jina.
nu-apara-quiaqu+-na nu-namasicaraata iicuuni-jina
3s-begin-PDP -UAN 3s-backside walk -VCL
He had begun to walk backwards. (*T.CAS.JPI.031.140703*)

It is not entirely clear what role this suffix plays, and I have not found any other verbs that require this suffix with their verbal complement. However, it is clear that it is ungrammatical for the verbal complement of *aparaani* to occur without the *-jina* suffix, as shown in example 60 below. (The grammatical equivalent of example 60 is given in example 61.)

60. *Nu-aparacura amaqu++ni.
Nu-apara- Ø -cura amaqu++ -ni
3s-begin-PRF-PSR clear.path-INF
(*E.ELY.CIA.040804*)

61. Nu-aparacura amaqu++ni-jina.
 nu-apara - Ø -cura amaqu++ -ni -jina
 3s-comenzar-PRF-PSR clear.path-INF-VCL
 He has begun to clear a path. (*E.ELY.CIA.040804*)

3.1.2 Infinitival verbs with -jata

Another place where we commonly see infinitival verbs is with the suffix -jata. This morpheme is used to conjoin two verbs. The resulting construction expresses concomitant action and means something like ‘to do X (while) Y-ing,’ where X is an inflected verb and Y is another verb in infinitival form.¹⁵ The construction follows the pattern in Figure 3.1.

Figure 3.1 Using -jata

[Subject] [Verb X with inflectional morphology] [Verb Y in infinitival form]-jata

Several different verb combinations are possible in this construction. In examples 62 and 63, two intransitive verbs are used, and the infinitival verb occurs sentence-finally with -jata:

¹⁵ It is possible that this construction is a serial verb construction, but further research is necessary to be conclusive.

62. Anuuja nu-naraa muusiini-jata.
 anuuja nu-nara - : -Ø muusii-ni -jata
 3s.prx 3s-bathe-INC-NPS swim -INF-COM
 S/he is bathing while swimming. (*E.LII.CIA.030804*)

63. Nu-anii arihuaani-jata.
 Nu-ani - : -Ø arihuua-ni -jata
 3s-approach-INC-NPS sing -INF-COM
 S/he is approaching (while) singing. (*E.LII.CIA.030804*)

The -jata construction can also occur sentence-initially, as shown in examples 64 and 65:

64. Mayasiini-jata nu-iicuaa nu-iita-cuura.
 mayasii-ni-jata nu-iicua- : -Ø nu-iita -cuura
 dance -INF-COM 3s-go -INC-NPS 3s-house-PDH
 Dancing, s/he is going to his/her house. (*E.JPI.CIA.040804*)

65. Arihuaani-jata nu-anii.
 arihuua-ni -jata nu-ani - : -Ø
 sing -INF-COM 3s-approach-ICP-NPS
 Singing, s/he is approaching. (*E.JPI.CIA.040804*)

Example 66 shows the construction with one transitive verb and one intransitive verb:

66. Anuuja nu-cuaataa nasi arihuaani-jata.

Anuuja nu-cuaata - : -Ø nasi arihuua-ni -jata

3s.prx 3s-cultivate-INC-NPS field sing -INF-COM

S/he is cultivating the field while singing. (*E.ELY.CIA.300704*)

The reverse (an intransitive verb with a transitive verb in the -jata construction) is shown in examples 67 through 70:

67. Cana-cuhuasii asúraaja saqu++ni-jata.

Cana-cuhuasi- : -Ø asúraaja saqu++-ni -jata

1pe -talk -INC-NPS yuca chew -INF-COM

We (excl.) are talking while chewing yuca. (*E.LII.CIA.030804*)

68. Cana-saapii asúraaja qu+raani-jata.

Cana-saapi- : -Ø asúraaja qu+raa-ni -jata

1pe -cry -INC-NPS yuca peel -INF-COM

We (excl.) are crying while peeling the yuca. (*E.LII.CIA.030804*)

69. Cana-ariicuaa iina cuaraani-jata nasi.

cana-ariicua- : -Ø iina cuaraa -ni -jata nasi

1pe -sing -INC-NPS DET cultivate-INF-COM field

We (excl.) are singing while cultivating the field. (*E.JPI.CIA.060804*)

(*E.LII.CIA.070804*)

70. P+-saaquii najuuni-jata simiim+-jina.
 P+ -saaqui - : -Ø najuu-ni -jata simiim+-jina
 lpi-converse-INC-NPS write-INF-COM book -LOC
 We (incl.) are conversing while writing in a book. (*E.ELY.CIA.300704*)

Two transitive verbs are used in examples 71 and 72:

71. Cana-raatii itíiniija iina cuaraani-jata
 cana-raati- : -Ø itíiniija iina cuaraa -ni -jata
 lpe -drink-INC-NPS *masato* DET cultivate-INF-COM

 nasi.
 nasi
 field
 We (excl.) are drinking *masato* while cultivating the field.¹⁶ (*E.JPI.CIA.060804*)
72. P+-asaa páapaaaja itíiniija rariini-jata.
 p+ -asa- : -Ø páapaaaja itíiniija rarii-ni -jata
 lpi-eat-INC-NPS fish masato drink-INF-COM
 We (incl.) are eating fish while drinking *masato*. (*E.JPI.CIA.060804*)

This construction with -jata is relatively productive. However, there are a few constraints. A motion verb cannot take the suffix -jata, as shown in the ungrammatical

¹⁶ *Masato* is a fermented beverage made from yuca.

examples in 74 and 75. The motion verb must always be the inflected verb (given in examples 73 and 76).

73. Nu-iicuaa iita-cuura arihuaani-jata.

nu-iicua- : -Ø iita -cuura arihuaa-ni -jata

3s-go -INC-NPS house-PDH sing -INF-COM

S/he is going home singing. (*E.ELY.CIA.040804*)

74. *Nu-ariicuaa (iita-cuura) ihuaani-jata.

nu-ariicua- : -Ø (iita -cuura) ihuaa-ni -jata

3s-sing -INC-NPS house-PDH go -INF-COM

TARGET: He is singing while going home. (*E.ELY.CIA.040804*)

75. *Cana-saapii m+y+qu++ni-jata.

Cana-saapi- : -Ø m+y+qu++-ni -jata

1pe -cry -INC-NPS return -INF-COM

TARGET: We (excl.) are crying while returning. (*E.JPI.CIA.060804*)

76. Cana-m+y+quii sahu++ni-jata tiira

cana-m+y+qu+- : -Ø sahu++-ni -jata tiira

1pe -return -INC-NPS cry -INF-COM there

cana-iita-cuura.

cana-iita -cuura

1pe -house-PDH

We (excl.) are returning crying there to our house. (*E.JPI.CIA.060804*)

The verb *im+raani* is also restricted from taking the suffix *-jata*:

77. *Nu-asaa *im+raani-jata*.

Nu-asa- : -Ø *im+raa* -ni -jata

3s-eat-INC-NPS to.do.again-INF-COM

TARGET: He is eating again. (*E.JPI.CIA.300704*)

Examples 78 through 80 show that it is possible to have a split determiner phrase with the *-jata* construction as long as the determiner phrase is the complement of the infinitival verb. The determiner occurs to the left of the *-jata* construction, and its complement noun is to the right. Both the determiner and its complement noun are underlined in these examples to illustrate the phenomenon more clearly.

78. Na-cuhuasii iina *sagu++ni-jata* asúraaja.

na-cuhuasi- : -Ø *iina* *sagu++ni* -jata *asúraaja*

3p-talk -INC-NPS DET chew -INF-COM yuca

They are talking while chewing this yuca. (*E.JPI.CIA.040804*)

79. Cana-icuuyaa iina *imaani-jata* n+sicati.

cana-icuu-yaa-Ø *iina* *imaa* -ni -jata *n+sicati*

1pe -walk-INC-NPS DET eat.fruit-INF-COM aguaje

We (excl.) are walking while eating this *aguaje*. (*E.LII.CIA.070804*)

80. Cana-cuhuasii iina rariini-jata itíniija.
 cana-cuhuasi- : -Ø iina rarii-ni -jata itíniija
 1pe -talk -INC-NPS DET drink-INF-COM masato
 We (excl.) are talking while drinking this *masato*. (*E.ELY.CIA.090804*)

It is not surprising to see split determiner phrases with this construction. Split determiner phrases can occur across infinitival verbs, specifically when the infinitival verb is a verbal complement. The occurrence of split determiner phrases in these examples suggests, then, that the infinitival verb marked with the suffix *-jata* continues to behave like an infinitival verb, specifically as a verbal complement. The fact that the infinitival verb can take a DP complement further illustrates its verbal qualities.

But other data suggest that this construction is adverbial, particularly since the position of the infinitival verb marked with *-jata* is not fixed. For instance, it can be inserted into the position between the subject and verb of an irrealis construction, as shown below in example 81. (We saw this position as one that was available to other adverbs in Chapter Two.) Further research is necessary to determine the full extent of possible positions for this construction.

81. Amicaaca p+-muusiini-jata narar++.
 amicaaca p+ -muusii-ni -jata nara -r++-Ø
 one.day.away lpi-swim -INF-COM bathe-ICP-NPS
 Tomorrow we (incl.) will bathe while swimming. (*E.LII.CIA.070804*)
 (*E.JPI.CIA.070804*)

Whether the *-jata* construction is a verbal complement or an adverbial phrase, the position of the infinitival verb form is fixed; it must occur with the suffix *-jata*. In the next two sections, I look at two infinitival verbs whose positions are not so fixed. In fact, the positions in which they can occur do not overlap with the allowable infinitival verb positions described in this section. These two verbs do not occur with a particular morpheme (like *-jata* or *-jina*) and do not function as verbal complements, nor do they express concomitant action. Instead, they exhibit the same types of distributions presented in Chapter Two, patterning much more like adverbs than infinitival verbs.

3.2 IM+RAANI ‘AGAIN’

The first of these two ‘atypical’ adverbs is *im+raani*, a word defined in the Iquito dictionary as a verb, meaning ‘to repeat an activity’. In this section, I will show that when inflected, *im+raani* functions as a verb. But when it occurs in its infinitival form, I argue that *im+raani* is functioning as an adverb. I will also show that the distribution of the infinitival form of this verb matches that of the epistemic adverb *cuuta*.

Example 82 illustrates *im+raani* inflected as a verb. This example, as well as example 45 above, shows that *im+raani* is one of the verbs that can take a verbal complement. In example 82, its verbal complement is *asaani*, meaning ‘to eat’. The inflected form of *im+raani* is underlined.

82. Iina icuani nu-im++taa páapaaja asaani.

iina icuani nu-im++ta - : -Ø páapaaja asaa-ni

DET man 3s-do.again-ICP-NPS fish eat -INF

That man, he is repeating eating fish/He is eating fish again. (*E.ELY.CIA.020804*)

However, when *im+raani* occurs in its infinitival form, it does not behave like other infinitival verbs. It cannot occur with the suffix *-jata*, as we saw above in example 77. It occurs with verbs that do not take verbal complements, such as *eat* and *bathe* (see example 45 above and 83 below), and it appears to be optionally modifying these verbs rather than occurring obligatorily. Finally, the positions in which *im+raani* can be found are the same as another adverb, namely the epistemic adverb *cuuta*. (These positions are presented in examples 83 through 88 below.) For these reasons, I believe that *im+raani* in its infinitival form has been re-lexicalized as an adverb. When used as an adverb, *im+raani* simply means ‘again’.

The distribution of the infinitival form of *im+raani* can be seen in the following examples. In example 83, *im+raani* occurs between the verb and the object of a realis construction. If *im+raani* were functioning as an infinitival verbal complement in this sentence, we would expect to see a split determiner phrase. However, that is not what we see; the entire determiner phrase occurs after *im+raani*.

83. S V ADVERB O
 Cu-asaa im+raani iina páapaaja.
 qui-asa- : -Ø im+raani iina páapaaja
 1s -eat-INC-NPS again DET fish
 I am eating fish again. (*E.ELY.CIA.020804*)

In example 84, *im+raani* occurs after the object of a realis construction:

84. TOPIC S V O ADVERB
 Iina maaya nu-asahui asúraaja im+raani.
 iina maaya nu-asa-qui-Ø asúraaja im+raani
 DET child 3s-eat-PRF-NPS yuca again
 That child, he/she ate yuca again. (*E.JPI.CIA.040804*)

We find time, manner, and epistemic adverbs in both of the positions presented in examples 83 and 84. But examples 85 and 86 show that *im+raani* cannot begin a sentence, whether that sentence is topicalized or not. Only the epistemic adverb *cuuta* has that same distributional restriction.

85. *ADVERB TOPIC S O V
 *Im+raani iina icuani nu-nu-naana jimatar++.
 Im+raani iina icuani nu-nu-naana jimata-r++-Ø
 Again DET man 3s-3s-wood remove-ICP-NPS
 TARGET: That man, he will not remove his wood again. (*E.ELY.CIA.040804*)

86. *ADVERB S O V
 *Im+raani nu-itíiniija miir++.
 Im+raani nu-itíiniija mii- r++-Ø
 Again 3s-masato make-ICP-NPS
 TARGET: She will not make *masato* again. (*E.ELY.CIA.040804*)

It is also ungrammatical for *im+raani* to occupy the position between the topic and the subject:

87. TOPIC *ADVERB S O V
 *Iina icuani im+raani nu-nu-naana jimatar++.
 Iina icuani im+raani nu-nu-naana jimata-r++-Ø
 DET man again 3s-3s-wood remove-ICP-NPS
 TARGET: That man, he will not remove his wood again. (*E.ELY.CIA.040804*)

But it is grammatical between the subject and the object of an irrealis sentence:

88. ADVERB S ADVERB V O
 Amicaaca qui-im+raani capir++ asúraaja.
 amicaaca qui-im+raani capi-r++-Ø asúraaja
 tomorrow 1s -again cook-ICP-NPS yuca
 Tomorrow I will cook the yuca again. (*E.ELY.CIA.040804*)

This distribution of the form *im+raani* is the same as the distribution seen for the epistemic adverb *cuuta* in Section 2.3. The only difference is that *im+raani* is ungrammatical between the topic and the subject (example 87), whereas this position was questionably available for the epistemic adverb *cuuta*. The fact that this position is ungrammatical with *im+raani* suggests that this position (between the topic and the subject) is actually not available to this adverb class. Table 3.3 illustrates the distributions of the epistemic adverb and *im+raani*.

Table 3.3 Distribution of *im+raani* and the epistemic adverb

	Before Topic	Between Topic & Subj./Before Subject	Between Subject & Verb	Between Verb & Object	After Object
Epistemic (<i>cuuta</i>)	Ungrammatical	Ungram./ Questionable	Ungram. (realis) Gram. (irrealis)	Gram. (realis) Ungram. (irrealis)	Gram.
<i>Im+raani</i>	Ungrammatical	Ungram.	Ungram. (realis) Gram. (irrealis)	Gram. (realis) Ungram. (irrealis)	Gram.

I consider *im+raani* in its infinitival form to be a member of the same adverb class as *cuuta*. Given the difference in meaning between *im+raani* and *cuuta*, I acknowledge that epistemic might not be the best label for this adverb class.

In the next section, I present another infinitival verb form that does not behave like typical infinitival verb. The distribution of this infinitival form matches that of the time adverbs.

3.3 *NAMIINI* ‘FIRST’

Namiini is another ‘atypical’ adverb. I will argue here that in its infinitival form, *namiini* has the same distribution as the time adverbs and can be classified as such.

Several dictionary entries exist for *namiini*. These entries include the adverbial interpretation of *namiini*, meaning ‘first’, as well as several verbal meanings. The

Additionally, when this infinitival form of *namiini* occurs with another verb, we do not see it sentence-finally as we would expect to be the case if it was truly functioning as an infinitival verbal complement. In example 90, *namiini* occurs between the verb and the object of a realis construction.

90. TOPIC S V ADVERB O
 Iina m+saji nu-siquitaqui namiini sinaaqu+.
 iina m+saji nu-siquita-qui-Ø namiini sinaaqu+
 DET woman 3s-wash -PRF-NPS first clothes

 Atiijija nu-capiqui asúraaja.
 atiijija nu-capi-qui-Ø asúraaja
 then 3s-cook-PRF-NPS yuca
 First the woman washed the clothes. Then she cooked the yuca.
 (E.JPI.CIA.060804)

The distribution of *namiini* used infinitivally is similar to that of time adverbs. Examples 91 through 94 illustrate the distribution of *namiini* in realis constructions. In example 91, *namiini* is found before the topic:

91. ADVERB TOPIC S V O
Namiini iina m+saji nu-siquitaqui sinaaqu+.
 namiini iina m+saji nu-siquita-qui-Ø sinaaqu+
 first DET woman 3s-wash -PRF-NPS clothes
 That woman, first she washed the clothes. (E.JPI.CIA.060804)

In example 92, *namiini* is between the topic and the subject:

92. TOPIC ADVERB S V O
- Iina m+saji namiini nu-siquitaqui sinaaqu+.
- Iina m+saji namiini nu-siquita-qui-Ø sinaaqu+
- DET woman first 3s-wash -PRF-NPS clothes
- That woman, first she washed the clothes. (*E.JPI.CIA.060804*)
- (*E.LII.CIA.060804*)

It is grammatical for *namiini* to occur between the verb and the object of a realis construction, as shown in example 93:

93. TOPIC S V ADVERB O
- Iina m+saji nu-siquitaqui namiini sinaaqu+.
- Iina m+saji nu-siquita-qui-Ø namiini sinaaqu+
- DET woman 3s-wash -PRF-NPS first clothes
- That woman, she washed the clothes first. (*E.JPI.CIA.060804*)

As well as after the verb:

94. TOPIC S V O ADVERB
 Iina maaya nu-mas++ simiim+ namiini.
 Iina maaya nu-mas+- : -Ø simiim+ namiini
 DET child 3s-buy -INC-NPS book first
 That child, he/she is buying the book first. (*E.LII.CIA.060804*)

Just as we have seen with other adverbs, *namiini* can also occur between the subject and the verb of an irrealis construction:

95. ADVERB S ADVERB V O
 Amicaaca qui-namiini capir++ asuraaaja.
 amicaaca qui-namiini capi-r++-Ø asúraaja
 tomorrow 1s -first cook-ICP-NPS yuca
 Tomorrow I will first cook the yuca.

In Table 3.4, I summarize the positions of *namiini* alongside those of the time adverbs. Because the distribution of the infinitival form of *namiini* matches that of the time adverbs, and because its semantics is somewhat temporal, I consider *namiini* in its infinitival form to be a member of the class of time adverbs.

Table 3.4 Distribution of *namiini* and the time adverbs

	Before Topic	Between Topic & Subj./Before Subject	Between Subject & Verb	Between Verb & Object	After Object
Time	Grammatical	Gram.	Ungram. (realis) Gram. (irrealis)	Gram. (realis) Ungram. (irrealis)	Gram.
Namiini	Grammatical	Gram.	Ungram. (realis) Gram. (irrealis)	Gram. (realis) Ungram. (irrealis)	Gram.

3.4 ITIINI ‘FIRST’

The following examples illustrate the possibility of another infinitival verb functioning as an adverb: *itiini*, which means ‘first’ in the following examples. This form is likely to be an adverb because it occurs with verbs that do not take an infinitival verbal complement, namely *bathe*, *wash*, and *eat*. I was unable to elicit any further examples that would show other available positions, and so this form merits additional research.

96. Qui-naaraa itiini qui-maqu++ni-iira.

Qui-naara- : -Ø itiini qui-maqu++ni -iira

1s -bathe-INC-NPS first 1s -sleep -INF-MET

First I will bathe, and then I will sleep. (*E.ELY.CMB.210603*)

97. Siquitaqui itiini nuu, atiiijjaa quia-nuu tiicaqui.
 Siquita-qui itiini nuu atiiijjaa quia-nuu tiica-qui-Ø
 Wash -PRF first 3s then 2s -3s dry -PRF-NPS
 Wash it first, and then you will dry (it). (E.ELY.CMB.210603)

98. Cu-asaa itiini qui-naraani-iira.
 Qui-asa- : -Ø itiini qui-naraa-ni -iira
 1s -eat-INC-NPS first 1s -bathe-INF-MET
 I will eat first in order to go bathe. (E.ELY.CMB.210603)

3.5 SUMMARY

The infinitival forms of the verbs *im+raani*, *namiini*, and possibly *itiini* do not pattern the same way as other infinitival verbs. They do not occur as verbal complements, nor do they occur with the morpheme *-jata* to indicate concomitant action. Rather, their distribution patterns like the traditional adverbs presented in Chapter Two. By comparing the distributions and semantic content of these infinitival verb forms with the distributions and semantic content of the more traditional adverbs, I have classified *im+raani* as occurring in the same adverb class as the epistemic adverb *cuuta*, and I have classified *namiini* as a member of the time adverb class.

In the next chapter, I examine how the distributions of the manner, time, and epistemic adverb classes relate to Iquito phrase structure.

Chapter 4: Adverbs and Iquito Phrase Structure

The data presented in the previous chapters have shown that the adverb classes in Iquito are defined by their semantic and syntactic distributions. In this chapter, I discuss how these syntactic distributions inform an analysis of Iquito phrase structure. I propose that Iquito adverbs are base-generated as adjuncts to the VP and move to other positions within the structure rather than adjoining freely to any level of the structure. My analysis relies on data from three particular constructions: adverbs in irrealis constructions (Section 4.1), adverbs with negation (Section 4.2), and adverbs in doubly-topicalized sentences (Section 4.3). Finally, I take the distributions presented in Chapter Two and the constructions presented in this chapter and look at the scope of these adverbs classes. I then draw conclusions about Iquito phrase structure from these distributions and interpretations of scope.

Differing analyses exist in the literature regarding the base-generation of adverbs and their allowed positions within the phrase structure. Iatridou (1990) and Ernst (2002) both argue that adverbs can be base-generated in more than one position. They consider the meaning to change with each adverb position and thus propose different structures to account for each meaning difference. Their approaches are in contrast to Cinque (1999) who argues that adverbs are base-generated in one position and move to other positions within the structure. According to Cinque, adverbs are base-generated VP-finally and can move to specifier positions of distinct functional projections above the VP (Cinque 1999: 29). He does not claim that different adverb positions correspond to different meanings. Rather, he claims that sentences with varying adverbial positions are related in meaning and that movement accounts for these semantic similarities. All of these analyses treat adverbs as adjuncts: in Iatridou's and Ernst's analyses, adverbs adjoin to

numerous places within the structure, and in Cinque's analysis adverbs move between adjoined positions. However, the allowable positions of adverbs in Iquito raise questions for these analyses. The data presented here suggest that adverbs can occupy **non-adjoined** positions, namely the X position in an irrealis construction and possibly the negation phrase, thus forcing a reevaluation of the current treatment of adverbs.

I hypothesize that Iquito adverbs originate as adjuncts to the VP. However, in the positions higher than the VP, adverbs do not adjoin but rather fill empty positions, and can even fill a position often occupied by an argument (that of an object in an irrealis construction). This hypothesis counters both Iatridou's and Ernst's analyses since adverbs are not always adjoining; and although the pre-verbal positions might be explained by movement, it seems that an adverb can move to a non-adjoined position, which counters Cinque's analysis. Given the data, it is necessary to reevaluate the standard treatment of adverbs as always appearing in adjoined positions.

4.1 ADVERBS AND WORD ORDER IN IRREALIS CONSTRUCTIONS

We saw in Chapter Two that many of the same adverb positions that are allowed for realis constructions are also allowed for irrealis constructions. However, there is one position where we see differences: between the subject and the verb. It is grammatical for an adverb to occur in this position in an irrealis construction, but not in a realis construction, as we saw in several examples in Chapter Two. This difference in grammaticality is due to the realis/irrealis distinction made in Iquito via word order.

As noted in Section 1.4, Iquito irrealis constructions demonstrate S X V word order, where X is a number of different elements that can occur between the subject and the verb, including, but not limited to, the object or an adverb. The most common

realization of the irrealis word order is for the object to occur in this X position, which is shown in example (99) below.

99. TOPIC S O V
 Iina icuani nu-nu-naana jimatar++.
 iina icuani nu-nu-naana jimata-r++-Ø
 DET man 3s-3s-wood remove-ICP-NPS
 That man, he will remove his wood. (*E.ELY.CIA.260704*)

However, the X position can also be filled by an adverb, and when this is the case, the object must follow the verb. This is shown in example 100 below:

100. TOPIC S ADVERB V O
 Iina icuani nu-iyarácata jimatar++ nu-naana.
 Iina icuani nu-iyarácata jimata-r++-Ø nu-naana
 DET man 3s-quickly remove-ICP-NPS 3s-wood
 That man, he will remove his wood quickly. (*E.ELY.CIA.260704*)

The future interpretation of this sentence is retained because the X position is filled, in this case by an adverb. It seems that as long as the position between the subject and the verb is occupied by *something*, even if that something is not the object, then the sentence is given an irrealis interpretation. But this position cannot be occupied by *anything*; there are some known constraints.

For instance, it is ungrammatical for the object to share the preverbal position with the adverb, as illustrated in examples 101 and 102.

101. TOPIC S *ADVERB O V
 *Iina icuani nu-iyarácata nu-naana jimatar++.
 Iina icuani nu-iyarácata nu-naana jimata-r++-Ø
 DET man 3s-quickly 3s-wood remove-ICP-NPS
 TARGET: That man, he will quickly remove his wood. (E.ELY.CIA.260704)

102. TOPIC S O *ADVERB V
 *Iina icuani nu-nu-naana iyarácata jimatar++.
 Iina icuani nu-nu-naana iyarácata jimata-r++-Ø
 DET man 3s-3s-wood quickly remove-ICP-NPS
 TARGET: That man, he will quickly remove his wood. (E.ELY.CIA.260704)

The same findings hold with a definite object. Recall that in Iquito, split determiner phrases are allowed (see Section 1.4). When the object of an irrealis construction is definite, the determiner can be split from its complement noun and occur in the X position. Thus in example 103, the determiner *iina* occurs between the subject and the verb, and its complement (*páapaaaja*) is found immediately after the verb. Again, the irrealis reading is maintained because *something* is occupying the position between the subject and the verb.

103. TOPIC S DET V O ADVERB
 Iina icuani nu-iina asar++ páapaaaja macuaarica.
 Iina icuani nu-iina asa-r++-Ø páapaaaja macuaarica
 DET man 3s-DET eat-ICP-NPS fish slowly
 That man, he will eat the fish slowly. (E.ELY.CIA.230704)

In a sentence with a definite object, an adverb can fill the position between the subject and the verb, but it blocks the determiner from splitting across the verb. As we see in example 104, the entire object must follow the verb:

104. TOPIC S ADVERB V DET O
 Iina icuani nu-macuaarica asar++ iina páapaja.
 Iina icuani nu-macuaarica asa-r++-Ø iina páapaja
 DET man 3s-slowly eat-ICP-NPS DET fish
 This man will eat the fish slowly. (*E.ELY.CIA.230704*)

No part of the object determiner phrase can share the pre-verbal position with the adverb. Examples 105 and 106 are ungrammatical because both the adverb and the determiner occur before the verb. In example 107, the adverb is interfering with the split determiner construction by occurring between the verb and the complement noun, resulting in an ungrammatical sentence.

105. TOPIC S *ADVERB DET V O
 *Iina icuani nu-macuaarica iina asar++ páapaja.
 Iina icuani nu-macuaarica iina asa-r++-Ø páapaja
 DET man 3s-slowly DET eat-ICP-NPS fish
 TARGET: That man, he will slowly eat fish. (*E.ELY.CIA.260704*)

106. TOPIC S DET *ADVERB V O
 *Iina icuani nu-iina macuaarica asar++ páapaja.
 Iina icuani nu-iina macuaarica asa-r++-Ø páapaja
 DET man 3s-DET slowly eat-ICP-NPS fish
 TARGET: That man, he will slowly eat fish. (*E.ELY.CIA.260704*)

107. TOPIC S DET V *ADVERB O
 *Iina icuani nu-iina asar++ macuaarica páapaja.
 Iina icuani nu-iina asa-r++-Ø macuaarica páapaja
 DET man 3s-DET eat-ICP-NPS slowly fish
 TARGET: That man, he will eat fish slowly. (*E.ELY.CIA.260704*)

These examples show that the adverb is filling the position normally occupied by the object, or the adverb is somehow blocking the object from moving to the preverbal position. I do not consider this position to be an adjoined position, because adjoined positions are usually optional for the grammatical interpretation of the sentence. In no way is the X position in irrealis clauses optional; it must be filled in order for the sentence to be interpreted as irrealis. Furthermore, this position can be filled by an argument (the object of the verb), and arguments do not typically occur in adjoined positions. These examples, then, are not accounted for by analyses that treat adverbs as filling adjoined positions.

However, from these examples we can conclude that an adverb is able to satisfy the requirement that the X position of an irrealis construction be filled. This phenomenon is not unique to Iquito; we see adverbs performing a similar function in German. In German, the position that must be filled is the Specifier of the CP; this requirement is

considered to be part of the Verb-second (V2) effect. Speas (1995: 25) summarizes the German phenomenon as follows: “The standard view of the Verb-second effect in German is that it involves movement of the inflected verb to C, along with movement of some XP to the Specifier of CP.” Sobin (2003: 196) adds that “[Spec, CP] in a V2 language must be filled, although not necessarily with a DP.” The following supporting examples come from Speas (1995: 25-26) and Speas (1994: 191) and show that the Specifier of CP may be filled by an adverb.

In examples 108a and 109a, the semantically null element *es* is present to fulfill the requirement that the specifier of CP be filled. Examples 108b and 109b are ungrammatical because this specifier position is empty, which we know because the sentence begins with a verb (occupying C).

108a. Es wird getanzt.

becomes danced

‘There was danced.’

108b. *Wird getanzt.

becomes danced

109a. Es sind drei Kinder gekommen.

are three children come

‘There have come three children.’

109b. *Sind drei Kinder gekommen.

are three children come

Example 110b shows that this position can be filled by an adverb and remain grammatical:

110a. Es wurde gestern auf dem Schiff getanzt.

ex was yesterday on the ship danced

‘There was dancing on the ship yesterday.’

110b. Gestern wurde (*es) auf dem Schiff getanzt.

yesterday was on the ship danced

‘There was dancing on the ship yesterday.’

Thus, the adverb (‘gestern’ in these examples) satisfies the requirement that the Specifier of the CP be filled.

Although it is unclear at this point what constraints exist on the types of elements that can occur in the X position of the Iquito irrealis construction, it is clear that an adverb can be one of these elements. The data from German bolsters this observation because it shows that adverbs can be the ‘something’ that fills, and thus satisfies, a positional requirement.

In addition to the data from irrealis constructions, negation and double-topicalization pose problems for analyses that treat adverbs as adjoining. I turn to negation in the next section.

4.2 NEGATION

The next construction that poses problems for analyzing adverbs as adjuncts is negation. Sentence 111 is an example of a negated realis construction. The adverb in this sentence follows the object.

111. TOPIC NEG S V O ADVERB
- Iina icuani caa nu-asaqui iina páapaja macuaarica.
- Iina icuani caa nu-asa-qui-Ø iina páapaja macuaarica
- DET man NEG 3s-eat-CMP-NPS DET fish slowly
- That man, he did not eat the fish slowly. (*E.JPI.CIA.220704*)

Lai (2005) found that time adverbs can occur to the left of the negative element *caa*, as shown in example 112 below:

112. TOPIC ADVERB NEG S V
- Iina m+saji amicaaca caa nu-niquicura
- iina m+saji amicaaca caa nu-niqui- Ø -cura
- DET mujer one.day.away NEG 3S-see -PRF-PSR
- O
- iina icuani.
- iina icuani
- DET man
- This woman did not see the man yesterday. (*E.ELY.IWL.090705*)
- (*E.HDC.IWL.130705*)

But it is ungrammatical for a time adverb to follow the negative element, as shown in example 113.

113. TOPIC NEG *ADVERB S V
 *Iina m+saji caa amicaaca nu-niquicura
 Iina m+saji caa amicaaca nu-niqui- Ø -cura
 DET mujer NEG one.day.away 3S-see -PRF-PSR

O

iina icuani.

iina icuani

DET man

TARGET: This woman did not see the man yesterday. (*E.ELY.IWL.090705*)

(*E.HDC.IWL.130705*)

These examples can be explained by scope. Since time adverbs have sentential scope and thus a broader distribution, it is not surprising to see the time adverb in front of the negation. Nor is it surprising to see that a time adverb is not allowed after negation; the scope of negation would prevent a sentential scope reading for the time adverb.

The distribution of manner adverbs with negation, however, is problematic. A manner adverb cannot occur on either side of the negative element *caa* (114 and 115), but it can appear in this position in an affirmative sentence (116).

114. TOPIC *ADVERB NEG S V O
 *Iina icuani macuaarica caa nu-asaqui iina páapaja.
 Iina icuani macuaarica caa nu-asa-qui-Ø iina páapaja
 DET man slowly NEG 3s-eat-CMP-NPS DET fish
 TARGET: That man, he did not eat fish slowly. (*E.JPI.CIA.220704*)

115. TOPIC NEG *ADVERB S V O
 *Iina icuani caa macuaarica nu-asaqui iina páapaja.
 Iina icuani caa macuaarica nu-asa-qui-Ø iina páapaja
 DET man NEG slowly 3s-eat-CMP-NPS DET fish
 TARGET: That man, he did not eat the fish slowly. (*E.ELY.CIA.230704*)

116. TOPIC ADVERB S V O
 Iina icuani macuaarica nu-asacura iina páapaja.
 Iina icuani macuaarica nu-asa- Ø -cura iina páapaja.
 DET man slowly 3s-eat-PRF-PSR DET fish
 This man ate the fish slowly. (*E.ELY.CIA.210704*)

If the adverb were able to adjoin, we would expect either example 114 or example 115 to be grammatical. The ungrammaticality of example 114 could be explained by scope; the adverb no longer has scope over the verb since it is blocked by negation. But this would not explain the ungrammaticality of example 115, since manner adverbs are allowed before the subject. Instead it seems that the adverb is in complementary distribution with the negation position, and that negation is blocking the manner adverb from occurring before the subject. I suspect that the adverb might be filling a non-

adjoined position within the NegP and so negation and the manner adverb cannot co-occur. As a result, when the negation position is filled by *caa*, it cannot be filled by a manner adverb, which explains the ungrammaticality of examples 114 and 115. However, the full range of possible positions still needs to be tested with each adverb type and the negative element; this remains an area for future research.

4.3 DOUBLE-TOPICALIZATION

The third construction that poses problems for an analysis of adverbs as adjuncts is double topicalization. An example of a doubly-topicalized sentence can be found in example 117. In this example, *yahui-jata* ('with a key') is one topic and *iina icuani* ('this man') is the second topic. As can be seen in example 118, it is ungrammatical for an adverb to precede both topics.

117. TOPIC 1 TOPIC 2 S V O
- Yahui-jata iina icuani nu-ijutacura pacaricuraji.
- Yahui-jata iina icuani nu-ijuta- Ø -cura pacaricuraji
- key -COM DET man 3s-open -CMP-PSR door
- With a key this man opened a door. (*E.ELY.CIA.230704*)

118. *ADVERB TOPIC 1 TOPIC 2 S V
 *Amicaaca yahui-jata iina icuani nu-ijutacura
 Amicaaca yahui-jata iina icuani nu-ijuta- Ø -cura
 One.day.away key -COM DET man 3s-open -CMP-PSR

 O
 pacaricuraji.
 pacaricuraji
 door
 TARGET: Yesterday with a key this man opened a door. (*E.ELY.CIA.230704*)

We would expect 118 to be grammatical if the adverb was able to freely adjoin to the structure. The beginning of the sentence is a prime candidate for adjunction, as Ernst (2002:13) states: “there are no major syntactic restrictions on either the category or the level of a phrase to which something adjoins (thus adjunction to arguments and to both X’ and XP levels of structure possible).” Furthermore, since the adverb in these examples is a time adverb, we would not expect the sentence to be ungrammatical for reasons of scope because time adverbs can have sentential scope and for this reason, should be able to occur sentence-initially. However, scope may not be dictating the distribution of these time adverbs. I argue that this construction is ungrammatical for structural reasons and not due to scope issues. An adverb cannot occur sentence-initially in doubly-topicalized sentences because there is no available position for the adverb to fill. When speakers repair the sentence in example 118, they either move the adverb *amicaaca* from the beginning of the sentence to elsewhere in the clause, or they do not

topicalize yahui-jata, or both. Examples of repairs are given in examples 119 through 121 below.

119. Yahui-jata iina icuani nu-ijutacura amicaaca

Yahui-jata iina icuani nu-ijuta- Ø -cura amicaaca

Key -COM DET man 3s-open -PRF-PSR one.day.away

pacaricuraji.

pacaricuraji

door

With a key this man opened a door yesterday. (*E.ELY.CIA.230704*)

120. Iina icuani nu-ijutacura pacaricuraji

Iina icuani nu-ijuta- Ø -cura pacaricuraji

DET man 3s-open -PRF-PSR door

amicaaca yahui-jata.

amicaaca yahui-jata

one.day.away key-COM

With a key this man opened a door yesterday. (*E.ELY.CIA.230704*)

121. Iina icuani nu-ijutacura amicaaca
 Iina icuani nu-ijuta- Ø -cura amicaaca
 DET man 3s-open -PRF-PSR one.day.away

 pacaricuraji yahui-jata.
 pacaricuraji yahui-jata
 door key -COM
 With a key this man opened a door yesterday. (E.ELY.CIA.230704)

These examples provide a glimpse of what the left periphery of Iquito Phrase Structure looks like, since we can conclude that two topic positions are allowed before the subject, but no more. These examples also provide further evidence that Iquito adverbs do not freely adjoin to the structure, but rather are constrained to positions that already exist. I discuss this further in the next section.

4.4 THE SCOPE OF IQUITO ADVERBS

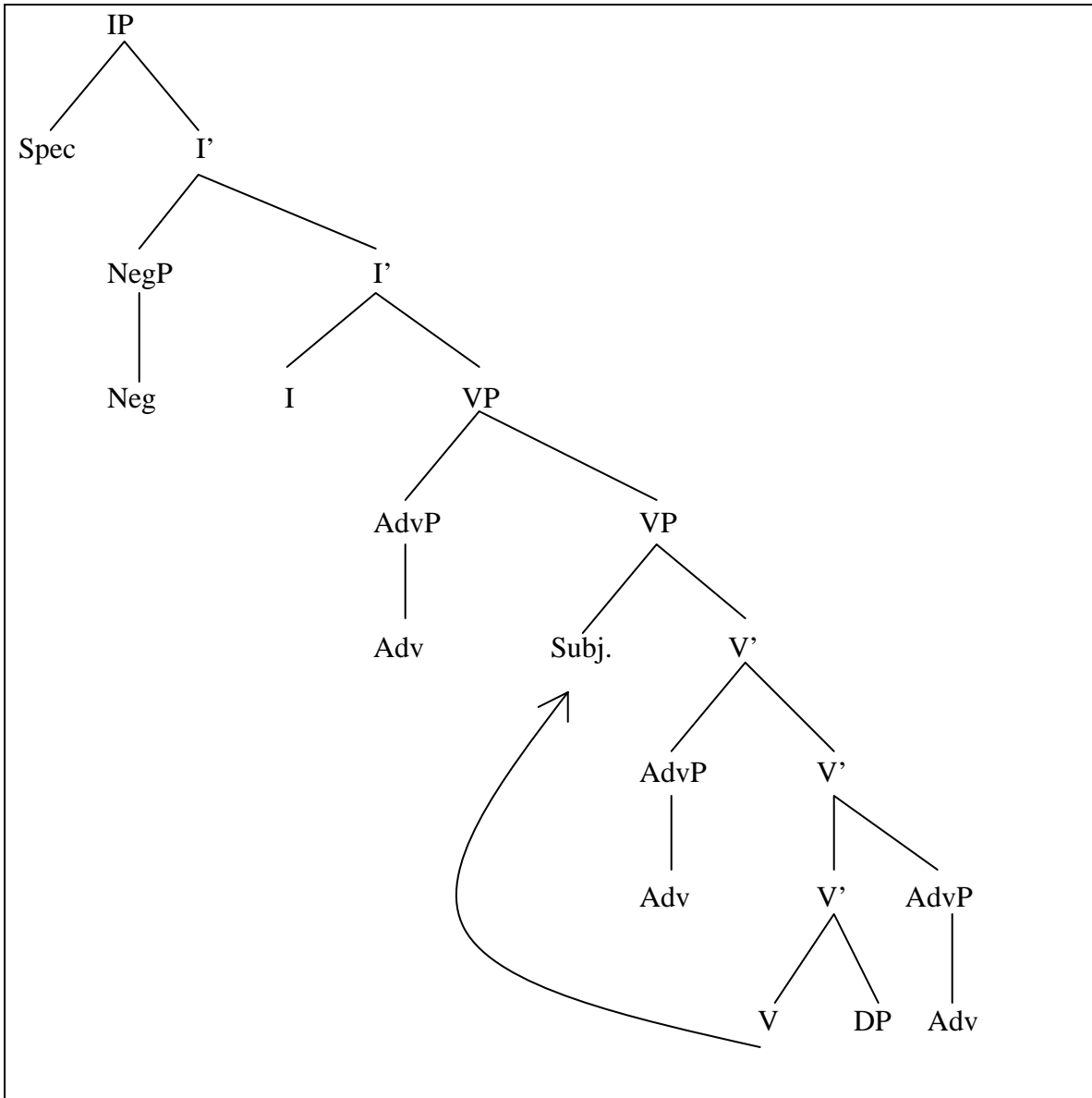
Scope is considered to be a key predictor of adverb classification and distribution (Ernst 2002). Givón (1984:81) claims that “to some extent one could predict the degree of word-order flexibility – and in some cases even the syntactic position of adverbs – from their semantic scope.” Manner adverbs are considered to have only the verb phrase within their scope, which is reflected in their distribution. In other words, manner adverbs appear as members of the verb-phrase in most languages, and are usually close to the verb (Givón 1984: 81). Thus, manner adverbs are considered to have the narrowest scope and distribution. Additionally, Givón adds that, “adverbs with wider – sentential – scope, such as those of time or speaker’s comment, tend to have a greater distributional freedom,

appearing before, after or in some positions inside the sentence” (1984: 82). These claims hold for Iquito manner and time adverbs, but not the epistemic adverb.

Since manner adverbs are analyzed as having scope over the VP and occur as members of the verb-phrase, we need to have a way to explain why Iquito manner adverbs are grammatical before the subject of both a topicalized and non-topicalized sentence. The best way to explain this distribution is by arguing that the subject of an Iquito clause does not raise to the Specifier of TP/IP, but rather stays *in situ* within the VP (Specifier of VP, where it is base-generated). We would also need to say that the verb raises to this Specifier of VP position and joins the subject, allowing the occurrence of manner adverbs between the verb and the object. Such verb movement would explain the observation that subject pronouns seem to be phonologically fused to the inflected verb form (Michael 2003) and could also explain why an adverb is ungrammatical between the subject and the verb. However, this assertion does not explain the word order differences we see in Iquito irrealis clauses. We could say that the verb does not raise, but that would not explain how the post-verbal elements that are found in an irrealis construction get to a position between the subject and the verb. The hypothesis that the subject stays *in situ* and the verb raises to it still needs to be tested. This is an area for future research.

If we assume that the subject and verb do behave in this way, we can explain the distributions of manner adverbs (in realis clauses) with respect to scope. All of the grammatical positions for manner adverbs would be adjoined to the VP. These positions are illustrated in the tree in Figure 4.1.

Figure 4.1 Syntactic positions of Iquito manner adverbs (in realis constructions)

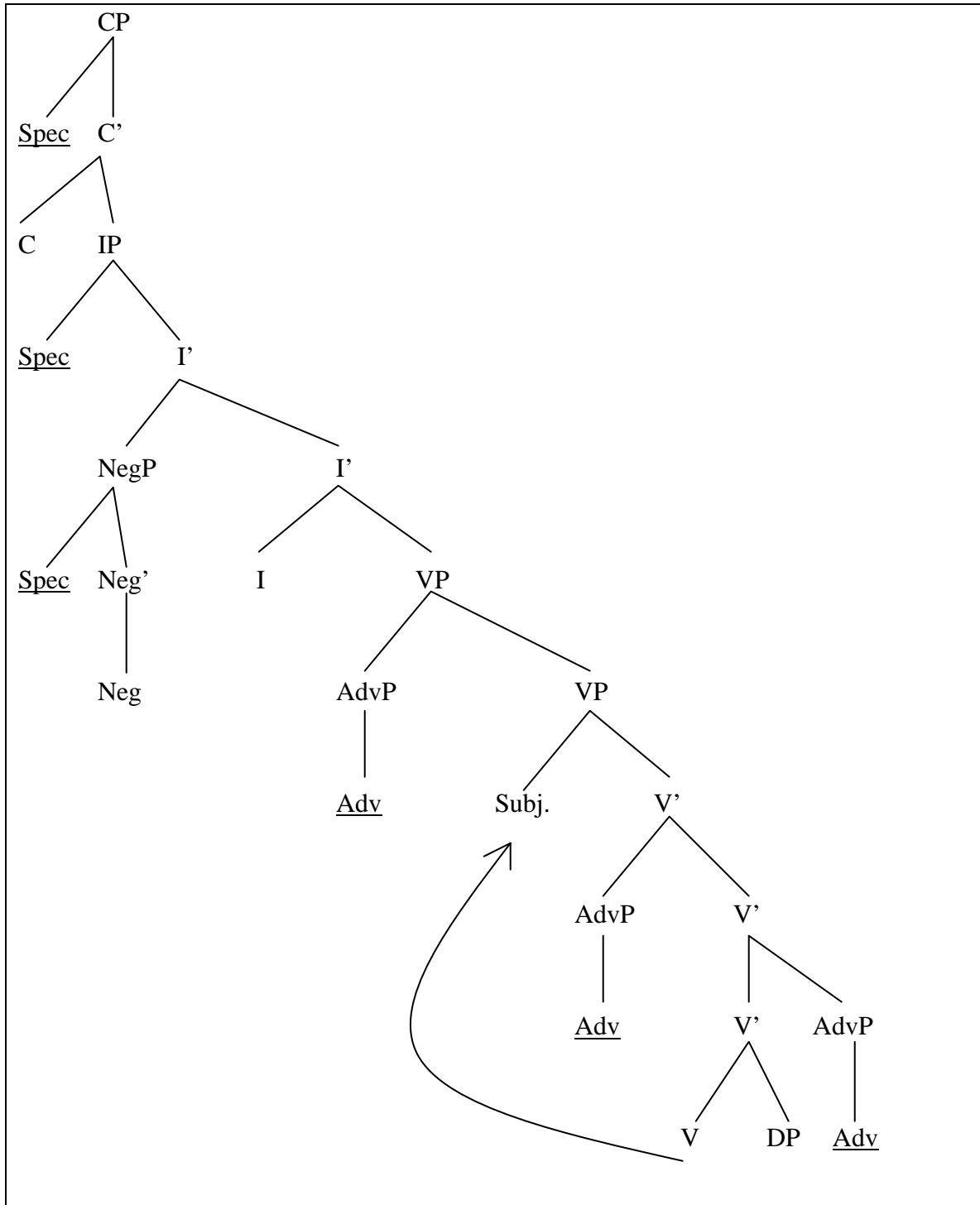


Manner adverbs can occur in three VP-adjoined positions, namely to the left of the VP and to the left or right of V'. Since speakers do not report a change in meaning between these three positions, I claim that manner adverbs are base-generated in the

position that is right-joined to V' and raise to the two other positions. All three of these positions allow manner adverbs to maintain scope over the verb phrase. Furthermore, this structure is supported by the negation data, since the subject has not raised above negation. (Recall that manner adverbs do not occur on either side of negation, supporting the analysis that they do not occur higher than the VP-level.) Such an analysis is in line with other analyses of manner adverbs in terms of scope and distribution.

Analyses regarding the scope of time adverbs also align with the Iquito data. The primary difference between the distributions of manner adverbs and time adverbs in Iquito is that time adverbs can occur before the topic position, thus having sentential scope. Time adverbs can also occur before the negative element *caa*, as we saw in example 112 above. This finding fits the existing analyses of scope, since time adverbs are considered to have broader scope than manner adverbs. I think that time adverbs occur in the Specifier of IP when the sentence is not topicalized and in the Specifier of CP when it is topicalized (the topicalized element would be in [Spec, IP] in topicalized constructions). The adverb does not, however, precede two topics, as we saw in the previous section, suggesting that there are no projections higher than the CP level. When the time adverb occurs before negation, I agree with Lai (2005) that the adverb is occurring in the Specifier of the NegP. The positions where time adverbs can occur are underlined below in Figure 4.2.

Figure 4.2 Syntactic positions of Iquito time adverbs (in realis constructions)



In contrast to manner and time adverbs, the epistemic adverb *cuuta* does not fit with existing analyses of scope. Usually considered to have the broadest syntactic distribution because of its sentential scope, *cuuta* has the narrowest distribution in the Iquito data. Its distribution is even narrower than the manner adverbs, since it seems that the epistemic adverb cannot occur before the subject and is ungrammatical for *cuuta* to begin a sentence, whether that sentence is topicalized or not. Additionally, *cuuta* appears to interact with the X position of irrealis constructions. A strong preference exists for *cuuta* to go in this X position, suggesting a possible interaction between the modality of the epistemic adverb and the irrealis mood. (This same preference does not exist for manner or time adverbs.) In fact, the consultant ELY creates a new sentence when presented with *cuuta* in the X position, eliminating *cuuta* altogether and creating a new construction with the word *cuquisaacari*. It could be that *cuuta* corresponds to irrealis mood as Cinque (1999: 88) suggests for adverbs meaning ‘perhaps’ (e.g. Italian *forse* and Dutch *misschien*). The meaning that Cinque presents for a ‘perhaps’ mood could apply to *cuuta*: such a mood is used “when the speaker doesn’t know if the proposition is true and doesn’t think the addressee knows either” (Sadock and Zwicky 1985: 168, cited in Cinque 1999: 88). We would need to look further into the semantics and pragmatics of these constructions to gain a clearer understanding of what is going on, and that data is not available at this point in time, but is an avenue for future research.

Based on the scope and distributions of the time, manner, and epistemic adverbs, I propose Figure 4.2 as the phrase structure for Iquito.

Chapter 5: Conclusion and Future Research

This paper has presented the semantic and syntactic distributions of adverbs in Iquito. These distributions have been used to classify two infinitival verb forms with unusual distributions as adverbs. The distributions have also helped to inform a phrase structure for Iquito, which was proposed in the previous chapter. This paper adds to the existing research on Iquito and also challenges the current analyses of adverbs in the syntactic literature.

Several areas for future research have emerged from this study. First of all, the restrictions on the types of elements that can occur in the X position of an irrealis construction remain unclear. These elements do not adhere to any syntactic class; determiners, adverbs, and indefinite object phrases can all occur in this position, but an entire DP cannot. Nor do there seem to be any length constraints; even though an entire DP cannot occur in this position, a noun and an adjective or quantifier can. It is also not clear what preferences exist for certain elements to occur in this position over others. By that I mean, why would an adverb occur in this position instead of the object? Are there pragmatic aspects to consider or slight meaning differences? Anderson *et al.* (2006) proposes a viable analysis for this construction, but the authors do not address meaning differences or preferences for one order over another. More work must be done before this construction is fully understood.

Secondly, the interaction of the epistemic adverb *cuuta* with the irrealis position needs to be explored further as does the possible pragmatic restrictions that might exist with this adverb and topicalization. *Cuuta* may fall into the ‘perhaps’ adverb class proposed by Cinque (1999:88); to determine whether or not it fits, we would need to look at the distribution of *cuuta* in questions and with other adverbs, such as ‘probably’.

(These are the environments Cinque presents for the Italian and Dutch versions of the ‘perhaps’ adverb.)

Additionally, more research is necessary on the ‘atypical’ adverbs presented in Chapter Three. Can the infinitival verb *itiini* be included as one of the ‘atypical’ adverbs? Has the verbal use of *namiini* (‘to begin’) been lost as I suspect or can the verb still be found in its inflected form? Does the distribution of the *-jata* construction correlate with any of the existing adverb classes? It would also be worth exploring whether the [-noun, -verb] *-ni* forms presented in Table 3.1 that are neither nouns nor verbs have a corresponding verb. Determining the extent of this correlation would allow us to definitively conclude the origins of these words.

Finally, the parameters of the Iquito phrase structure that I have proposed in this paper need to be tested more thoroughly. What I have presented here are preliminary observations on Iquito phrase structure based on the distribution of adverbs; distribution data from other word classes and phrasal types will help to make this structure more robust.

Appendix: Abbreviations Used in the Examples

1pe	cana-	1 st person plural (exclusive) subject or possessor
1pi	p+-	1 st person plural (inclusive) subject or possessor
1s	qui-, cu-	1 st person singular subject or possessor
2s	quia-	2 nd person singular subject or possessor
3pl	na-	3 rd person plural subject or possessor
3s	nu-, nuu	3 rd person singular subject or possessor
COM	-jata	Comitative
COP	t++	Copular verb
DET	iina (sg) iip+ (pl, animate) iima (pl, inanimate)	Determiner
ICP	-r++	Inceptive aspect
INC	-:	Incompletive (imperfective) aspect
INF	-ni	Infinitival verb
LOC	-jina	Locative
MET	-iira	Post-position whose complement is a goal or benefactor of the matrix verb
NEG	caa	Negation
NPS	-Ø	Non-past
PDH	cuura	Post-position of horizontal direction (or perpendicular to the river)
PDP	-quiaqu+	Perfective aspect & distant past
PRF	-qui, -Ø	Perfective aspect
PSR	-cura	Recent past
UAN	-na	Unanalyzed; -na has several functions and it is unclear which one is being used here
VCL	-jina	Verbal complement (used only with <i>aparaani</i>)
VMA	-cuaa	Verbal affix indicating motion away from the deictic enter

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